NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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H-Bomb: deadly parallel

Will we yield to Hitler-style fear assault?

The fear of war was being inculcated by dwelling on the horrors of gas and bacteriological warfare, by hinting at secret weapons, by describing the effects of aerial bombardment on the population of cities . . . As an earthquake produces feelings of fundamental insecurity, so the thought of total war, of boundless destruction, deprives men of their power to think clearly and act sensibly.

TOTAL WAR AND THE HUMAN MIND, by World War II psychological warfare expert A. M. Meerlo: a study of Nazi techniques used to conquer the German people and prepare them for war.

By Tabitha Petran

CAN the American people be conditioned for total war as were the German people by Hitler?

If not—and it has not succeeded yet—it won't be for lack of superhuman efforts by America's false leaders, using the same methods the Nazis used.

President Truman opened a new phase of the hypnotizing and conquest of the American people with his order last week, to go ahead with development of the hydrogen or "hell" bomb—the bomb newspapers proclaimed could "blow up the earth" and spells "a thousand Hiroshimas."

But the H-bomb wasn't new. Described at an atomic energy conference in San Francisco in March, 1947, it got four inches in the N. Y. Times' back pages. The real story of the H-bomb is only another chapter in the story of the A-bomb which began in 1945.

THE STRAIGHT RECORD: When Henry Wallace appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee on Jan. 26, 1950, to refute charges he helped Russia get uranium during the war, he revealed some key facts in this story.

Wallace denied a N.Y. Times report of Sept. 22, 1945, which alleged that at a secret cabinet meeting he urged sharing the A-bomb secret with Russia. It was, he said, then Secretary of War Henry Stimson who advocated interchange of scientific information with UN members and who "entered into a long defense of Russia, saying that throughout history Russia had been our friend—that we had nothing Russia wanted. He said our relationship during recent months had been improving. President Truman," Wallace added, "agreed to this."

The President agreed. But Stimson resigned next day. His proposals for an atomic energy plan treating Russia as a partner remained buried in a memorandum classified as "top secret."

LEAF FROM HITLER'S BOOK: The President agreed—but that very month he decided on the Truman Doctrine. During the London Conference in September, 1945—according to Arthur Krock in the N. Y. Times on March 23, 1947—Truman discarded for good the policy of treating "Russia as a government friendly to the U. S.," and "made up his mind then that, when a fitting opportunity arose and one which Congress and the people would recognize as such, he would proclaim the new doctrine."

The problem was to create the fitting opportunity; to induce the American people, who less than a year before had overwhelmingly endorsed Roosevelt's peace policies, to go along with a complete reversal of these policies.

The advocates of the new policy applied Nazi techniques of psychological warfare to subdue the common man of America.

MAKE 'EM SHUDDER: They used the atom bomb to create fear—fear, which as Meerlo pointed out, "paralyzes the human mind, hypnotizes it, as it were, and makes it passive."

Day in and day out radio, press, generals, politicians, and even scientists dinned into American minds that atomic attack would "kill 40,000,000 people in 24 hours"; would "destroy every one of our cities north of the San Francisco-St. Louis-Washington line"; could blow "a section of Manhattan a mile high" so its "pieces would rain down over New Jersey."

They used the bomb to make Americans think they were in deadly danger of attack. "Hitler," wrote Meerlo, "always made the Germans believe that they had to defend themselves against alleged encirclement."

LUNATICS AT LARGE: Generals stumped the country to warn of "sudden attack across the Polar Basin," to predict that the "next war will come like a flash of lightning," to insist that "to prevent the destruction of this country we must strike the enemy first."

With the bomb it was easier to create suspicion of Russia. Like the Nazis they knew, in Meerlo's words, that "suspicion is one of the most dangerous psychological weapons at the disposal of mankind. . . . In the atmosphere of fear and distrust it is impossible to see reality."

They used the bomb to create the delusion that the U. S. was

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The Sun
MAKE H-BOMB, BARUCH URGES
McMahon Hints Plan Is in Mill
U.S. Plane
Daily
BEAT
H-B
TO
LOVE IS GOOD MEDICINE

Photo by Fred Wright

'Please don't!'

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See Report to Readers
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Still half-slave, half-free

The Negro in America: a cross-country report

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The Negro in labor—real key to democracy

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the progressive newsweekly

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Cedric Belfrage
Editor

John T. McManus
General Manager

Executive Editor
James Aronson

STAFF: Elmer Bendiner, Fritz Silber, Barney Conal (Associate Editors), Robert Joyce (Art Editor), Leon Summit, Regina S. Oshlag (business and circulation); Tabitha Petran, Lawrence Emery, Robert E. Light, Egon Pohoryles, Adele Kravitz, Dorothy R. Mishkind.

CORRESPONDENTS: John B. Stone (Washington), Rod Holmgren (Chicago), Gene Richards (Los Angeles), Gordon Schaffer, Konni Zilliacus (London), Stanley Karnow (Paris), Emil Carlebach (Frankfurt), George Wheeler (Prague), Ralph Parker (Moscow), Peter Townsend (Shanghai), Max Werner (military), Richard A. Yaffe, Ella Winter (roving).

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THE MAILBAG

For Michael Brook

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In memory of Michael Brook who gave his life to the cause so that you shall live, herewith are 220 subscriptions and $220 to start a better future for the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

Abe Gelb — Al Lawrence
Harry Kriegel — Marc Siegel
ACA Gallery

Michael Brook was one of the GUARDIAN's earliest and most devoted friends. He died last month. Ed.

●

The CRC acts

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I am frankly grief-stricken to hear of the tremendously serious financial plight of the GUARDIAN. If the GUARDIAN is lost to progressive Americans, one of its most potent weapons will be gone.

I shall, of course, do what I can personally, by way of calling upon friends and acquaintances to rally to the support of the GUARDIAN with loans and donations, small and large.

Already a message has been sent out to all of our chapters requesting that they rally forces in support of this press, which is without a peer in the magnificent work it has done to maintain and extend constitutional liberties, civil and human rights.

Progressive America will be ever grateful to you for the magnificent manner in which you stepped forward in the fight for the lives of the innocent Trenton Six. European peoples have been forewarned by your description of American reaction's bestiality to the Negro people. Because of it they can see the hypocrisy of those who rule America in clear perspective.

William L. Patterson
National Executive Secretary
Civil Rights Congress

From 4 Friends

California

LAGUNA BEACH, CALIF.

Congratulations and appreciation for your balanced partisan but objective type of reporting an arsenal of facts. You manage to bring clarity out of the chaos and confusion of news over the radio and out of the California newspapers which I try to wade through. All issues are passed on to some friend or acquaintance. Even die-hard Deweyites come back not quite so smug. Even a whale swims with its eyes open. Anyone can recognize the strong current of fact and effort for truth that runs through your paper. The tide will turn to run with this current in time, I believe.

Alice Dale Cohen

●

New York

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I cherish your paper, and in all my struggle for existence, will continue to help the GUARDIAN, even if I have to eat less for a whole month. May your paper reach the peak of circulation.

Rochelle Perez

●

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The American Medical Assn. is levying a compulsory assessment against all of its membership in order to fight against a "healthier" America. We who are truly health-conscious recognize the real symptoms of the diseases eating away at the vitals of the country—Peekskill, the Trenton Six, the frameup of the Twelve, the warmongering Atlantic Pact, the splitting up of the progressive trade union movement.

Thus voluntarily I am assessing myself $25 for the GUARDIAN, and I call upon all my colleagues of like mind to do similarly, so that our own "blood bank" can be built to fight for the healthiness of body and mind that should be ours.

M. M. Engel, D.D.S.

●

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Here is a check for $10. We have four friends but they all get it. What then?

Charlotte & Howard Willard

Ask your four friends if THEY have four friends. Then, win more friends and influence more people. Ed.

●

Colorado

DENVER, COLO.

You have a wonderful weekly and it just delights me! The country has been starved for a journal which will tell the truth and print things no one else will print. If the public could know the truth in everything then no evil could exist in this world! Humanity must learn to think of itself as a unit and act as one. This can only come from knowledge of facts. You ring the bell with my wife also on your household hints and cooking recipes.

Hope you get 140,000,000 subscribers in the U. S. A.!

J. B. C.

●

North Carolina

DURHAM, N. C.

Enclosed is a check for $10 to keep you coming!

Helen M. Pine

●

Maryland

BALTIMORE, MD.

Kindly accept the enclosed check for four dollars. Thank you, gentlemen: your fight is a splendid inspiration.

Hyman Ludman

$1 FOR HONEST NEWS

Missouri

MARYVILLE, MO.

Since you are in urgent financial difficulties, I am enclosing three $20 traveler's checks to help out a little. Good luck in your efforts to make the GUARDIAN another Appeal to Reason.

Ken Brown

●

ST. LOUIS, MO.

We are job-hunting and expecting a baby, our third, in April, but . . . we shan't any of us know security until the twin specters of war and unemployment are finally laid to rest. And so we are pledging you in addition to this $5 a monthly contribution, either subs or cash, between $1 and $5—as much as we can scrape together. To lose any voice for peace, and particularly so staunch and clear a one as the GUARDIAN, is unthinkable in these days of repression. I don't believe we will let you down. You are doing a magnificent job for us who are working for a progressive America. You need us—we need you.

R. H.

●

Arizona

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Enclosed find postal note for $5 for my renewal and credit me with balance. Will send new subscriptions later as I get them.

M. V. Haggerty

●

Louisiana

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Enclosed please find my check for $10. We will try not to let you down on this end. Don't let us down by having to cease publication.

William Obrinsky

●

Welcome Minnesota

With this issue NATIONAL GUARDIAN welcomes as new readers the former subscribers to Minnesota Leader, which has ceased publication with the request that the GUARDIAN fulfill the unexpired subscriptions.

Lincoln never said it

SINCE 1942 the U. S. mails have been flooded periodically with phony Abraham Lincoln quotations purporting to show that the Emancipator would oppose the New Deal. The same false statements are again being circulated as propaganda against the "welfare state."

Roy P. Balser, editor of the **Abraham Lincoln Quarterly**, tracked down the forgeries. This is his finding: "Lincoln never said or wrote the sentiments as attributed to him. They were prepared and printed on the back of a leaflet distributed by the Committee for Constitutional Government in the fall of 1942." (The committee is a businss-sponsored organization openly avowing the principles of fascism.)

Balser continues: "How do these purported sayings of Lincoln gain such wide currency? The **Royle Forum**, house organ of the John Royle Co., Paterson, N. J., printed the purported quotation. The Galen Drake broadcast of Nov. 30, 1948, repeated the sentences. A listener carried them to Mrs. Frances B. Bolton, Member of Congress from Ohio, who had them inserted in the **Congressional Record**. From the **Record** they have been quoted 'authoritatively' far and wide and reprints have flooded the mails."

WHAT HE DIDN'T SAY: These are the words Lincoln did not say:

1. **You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.**
2. **You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.**
3. **You cannot help small men by tearing down big men.**
4. **You cannot help the poor by destroying the rich.**
5. **You cannot lift the wage-earner by tearing down the wage-payer.**
6. **You cannot keep out of trouble by spending more than your income.**
7. **You cannot further the brotherhood of man by inciting class hatred.**
8. **You cannot establish sound security on borrowed money.**
9. **You cannot build character and courage by taking away a man's initiative and independence.**
10. **You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could and should do for themselves.**

Says Balser: "In style there is nothing in Lincoln's writings or speeches which remotely resembles . . . this string of sentences."

Report to Readers

$16,000 in 2 weeks—We KNOW we'll live

IN the two weeks since our Jan. 23 appeal for help from GUARDIAN readers, we have received nearly $16,000. This amount has come from approximately 5,000 readers, or about 5% of the 75,000 GUARDIAN regulars to whom we addressed our original appeal.

The $16,000 represents payment for some 7,500 new subscribers at $1 each, plus contributions of which the largest single sum advanced by any individual has been $200.

There have been a half dozen $100 contributions: the rest have ranged between $1 and $50 with the largest number in the area of from $3 to $5.

The size of this response (from only 5% of our readers!), the enthusiasm expressed by virtually every person responding, and the fact that the second week's response was more than double that of the first week, convinces the GUARDIAN staff that this paper can and will continue in publication.

In order to insure this, we have been forced to make certain important decisions. Here they are:

FOR the period of this emergency (which will continue until we are certain that we have sufficient funds in sight to see us through the whole of 1950) NATIONAL GUARDIAN will be published fortnightly instead of weekly.

The effect of this decision is to cut our printing and mailing costs by at least 50%. Further savings are being effected by changing our printing and mailing schedule so that beginning with this issue we can eliminate overtime costs entirely and take advantage of lower-cost operation in slack days of the week in our print shop.

This means that instead of going into the mails and to N. Y. newsstands on Saturday, we will be printed and mailed on alternate Tuesdays so that subscribers will begin receiving their papers on Wednesday of each publication week instead of Mondays as at present.

These savings, with similarly drastic reductions in all other departments, will enable us to cut our overall costs by one-third or more. Thus every dollar we spend from now on will go at least one-third farther.

IN spite of these forced reductions in costs, we are confident that the GUARDIAN you will receive beginning with the Feb. 22 issue will be a much-improved product.

- **First, we shall expand in size to 16 pages. We intend to use this additional space to print expanded labor coverage and regular, nationwide reports on the activities of progressives, especially the Progressive Party and its branches in all states.**
- **Two, we shall be able to give more regular coverage to films, theater, radio, consumer news and other facets of family interest.**
- **Finally, we shall institute a policy of selected advertising of the sort which we believe can be of service and value to all readers. Hundreds of readers have suggested this; and dozens of potential advertisers have inquired into the possibility of offering their products and services to GUARDIAN readers.**

These are the steps we are now undertaking to stretch our present resources to the utmost and to add to our regular income while we continue to build toward a sustaining readership.

Confidently,
The Editors and Staff of NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

ON page 11 of this issue you will find the announcement of a nationwide $100 pledge campaign for funds to insure publication of the GUARDIAN through 1950.

This campaign is not a gamble but a certainty.

Here is how we know this:

In 16 months of publication, NATIONAL GUARDIAN has enlisted over 80,000 regular readers in more than 4,000 communities in every one of the 48 states.

We have at least five readers in more than 800 of these communities. In a few—like New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco—we have thousands.

Beginning today, the GUARDIAN undertakes a campaign to enlist one sustainer or group of sustainers in each of these 800 communities, who will agree to set aside $10 a month toward a total of $100 to be contributed to the GUARDIAN's sustaining fund for the rest of 1950. In some of the smaller communities it may be difficult; in the largest ones we are confident that we can find hundreds.

The anticipated total, which will exceed $50,000 in addition to our present funds and minimum expected income from new readership and advertising, will insure continued publication for 1950 and beyond.

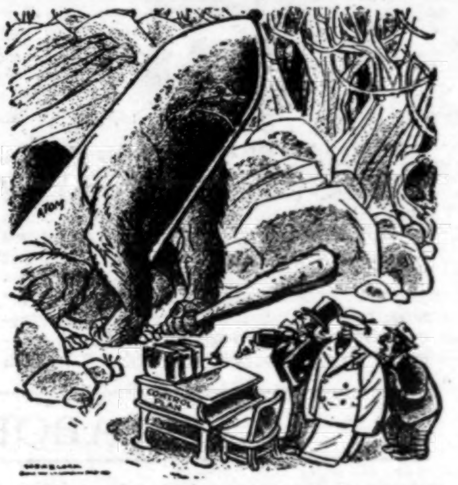
We are setting out on this campaign immediately. It will be conducted through the columns of the GUARDIAN, by mail and with personal tours by members of the GUARDIAN staff.

You can help this campaign to a swift and successful conclusion by responding today to the proposal we place before you on page 11.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

Truman charts U. S. future: destroy food, blow everyone up



Herblock in Washington Post

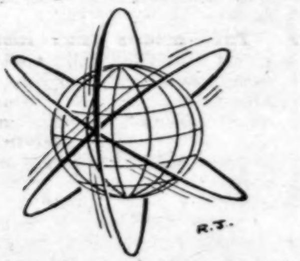
"Maybe we could sort of tame him gradually!"

HARRY TRUMAN made up his mind; in a few months a device was to be manufactured which if placed in the hold of a ship could be brought into the harbor of a city like New York or Moscow. Once the device exploded the city would be wiped out and the vicinity devastated for 100 miles around; poisonous radiations would then make the spot uninhabitable, perhaps for centuries.

Deriving its explosive properties from the fusion of atoms of hydrogen, the new bomb was to be called the H-bomb; H for hydrogen, or hell.

WASH HANDS: Those who were to have most to do with the new power issued solemn warnings before proceeding to work. It was like the preliminary washing of hands before a sacrificial rite.

Sen. Brien McMahon (D-Conn.), chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, told the Senate that while Hell was in the works, he had a plan to offer. It was: to spend $10,000,000,000 a year on a Marshall Plan of economic aid even for Russia if the world would accept the U.S. plan of atomic energy control. The plan would place in the hands of an international commission full ownership and control of atomic energy. The Russians, moving mountains, irrigating deserts and transforming their industry with atomic energy, have objected to the ownership of such facilities by a commission of which the majority is in capitalist hands.

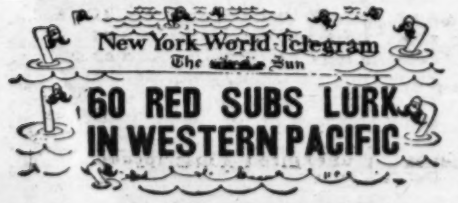


Many men, though critical otherwise, applauded the Senator's blunt statement that preparation for atomic war would mean militarism and the loss of liberty; his plea that the cold war must end.

NEVER FIRST: Twelve prominent physicists who would be called upon to work on the bomb convened at Columbia University and issued a grave statement: "We believe that no nation has the right to use such a bomb, no matter how righteous its cause. . . . Its use would be a betrayal of all standards of morality and of Christian civilization itself. . . . We urge that the United States, through its elected government, make a solemn declaration that we shall never use this bomb first."

THE FUCHS AFFAIR: While the bomb was being born, the spy scare spread to Britain. Dr. Klaus Emil Julius Fuchs, 38-year-old head of the Theoretical Physics Division of the country's atomic development project, was arrested. He was charged with having divulged atomic secrets to someone in U.S. in 1945, somebody else somewhere else in 1947.

The British press was calm; no cabinet meetings were summoned; no witch-hunts were called for. The Prime Minister busied himself with his electioneering and made no comment.


New York World-Telegram
The Sun
60 RED SUBS LURK IN WESTERN PACIFIC

DEADLY POTATOES: Moscow took the whole thing even more calmly. Harison Salisbury, writing in the N. Y. **Times**, noted that the Russians have been ready for a whole year to confer with the U.S. on atomic control, but were confident in their own policies and science.

Many Russians felt that if capitalism could be restrained from blowing itself up, it would be consumed by other insanities. They noted the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture's decision to destroy 25,000,000 bushels of potatoes which the Government had bought to protect farmers from starvation prices. The potatoes were called surplus because not enough hungry people could afford to buy them.

New Axis

Proud of bombs, unconcerned with potatoes and obsessed with a fear of communism, delegates of 60 important national organizations came together in New York's Hotel Astor under the auspices of the American Legion. They made strange bedfellows. Speaking for the CIO, James Carey keynoted: "In the last war we joined with the Communists to fight the Fascists. In another war we will join the Fascists to defeat the Communists."

Ned Calmer, on a Columbia Broadcasting System newscast, reported: "On the national political scene two anti-communist movements are building up their strength. Three Ku Klux Klan groups have merged and announced as their additional targets the National Assn. of Colored People, the B'nai B'rith Jewish Organization and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; and a conference of groups sponsored by the American Legion has laid the groundwork of a permanent organization to fight communism in this country."

THE national organizations listed in the American Legion's "All American Conference" to fight communism form some of the strangest pairs of bedfellows ever to huddle under a threadbare blanket.

Bundling with Merwin K. Hart's anti-Semitic **National Economic Council** were the **Jewish War Veterans** and **B'nai B'rith**. The **CIO, AFL** and **Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers** and **Railway Trainmen** shared a mattress with the **National Assn. of Manufacturers**, the **Chamber of Commerce** and **National Small Business Men's Assn.**

Other assorted alliances:

Mothers of World War II and **Daughters of the American Revolution** with the **American Assn. of University Women** and **American Social Hygiene Assn.**; **Catholic Church** (military ordinate) with the **American Jewish League Against Communism** and the **Free and Accepted Masons; Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America** with the **Military Order of the World Wars, Optimists, Soroptomists, Improved Order of Red Men.**

The anti-communist axis was at war with itself; the three targets named by the Klan drive were all part of the Legion's show. The NAACP, however, had sent no delegate though it had lent its name. It reserved decision on permanent affiliation. The B'nai B'rith and the Federal Council, when queried by the GUARDIAN, were busily referring the matter to boards, committees and officials who were unavailable.

WASHINGTON

DEMOCRATS

Weeds in harmony

THE Vice-President, the Secretaries of the Treasury and Agriculture, followed by lesser Administration lights journeyed to Raleigh, N.C., last week to ask the south for "harmony" within the Democratic Party.

The conference drew more reporters than delegates: 67 to 60. Local guests added another 60. Of 15 southern governors invited, only three came. Dixiecrat diehards were not even asked. Speakers included representatives of the CIO, AFL and Railway unions. Nobody at any time was so tactless as to mention civil rights or fair employment practices, though all about them jimcrow flourished like the Jimson weed.

The N.Y. **Times** commented: "It is in point . . . to remind Democrat leaders, even on Southern feast days, that there have been parties that have lost their

(Continued on following page)

Jennings Perry

The common enemy

AT or about the same moment when representatives of more than 50 national groups, inveigled into New York for the American Legion's mobilization of superpatriots, were "unifying" themselves into a permanent agency devoted to the fight against "a common enemy—world communism," three Ku Klux Klan groups, meeting at Jacksonville, were unifying themselves to lick "1,100 pro-communist organizations in the United States."

At least two of the organizations the Klansmen, as a pack, mean to take after—the B'nai B'rith and the NAACP—were named among the pack the American Legion even then was putting together for the unending fight against "the common enemy."

NOW in these premises the first impulse of just ordinary patriots, ordinarily equipped with a sense of humor, must be to tie the tails of these cats together and let them fight it out among themselves.

The Legion, one supposes, would be honor bound to defend all of its associated groups against the injury patriotically intended by the Klan; while the Klan, also honor bound, would have no recourse but to attack even the Legion itself for sheltering those groups marked down at Jacksonville for decommunization or destruction. Out of such a brawl amazing good might come.

However, it really is too risky. There is no bitterer clash than that of holier-than-thou with holier-than-thou, and the whole place undoubtedly would be messed up. Some of us who think we are sane have another plan.

OUR plan takes into account the tremendous energies both Legion and Klan expend in their finish fight against world communism, and truly offers a way to turn this great effort to the public benefit. Ours is a plan for the conservation of natural (100% American) resources, taking the purity of the stock of which the Legion and the Klan are composed for granted—no matter how this item may be disputed among the groups themselves.

As we see it, they must by all means be permitted to go on with their fight against the common enemy—but with some guidance of fact and channeling of intelligence For instance, instead of battling just a name (and, as has been seen, bumping into each other in their darkness), they should be persuaded to put their shoulders together against those native conditions which account for whatever appeal communism has in our fair democratic-capitalist land.

Communism does, and perhaps understandably, appeal to people who cannot get jobs—since in communist lands everybody is supposed to have that basic security. The Legion needs to be shown that it can best repel communism by using its influence and fervor to make sure that all Americans always have jobs—even if, from time to time, and increasingly, we have to try socialistic methods to make good this guarantee.

Communism does, and perhaps understandably, appeal to people who are victims of discrimination (persecution) because of their race, creed or color. The Ku Klux Klan needs to be shown that by burning, not crosses, but its own nightshirts and by working zealously to abolish itself it can strike its enemy communism a notable blow.

THE sponsors of our plan agree that this is asking a lot of the Klan and of the Legion, which obviously prefer to fight names; but we feel there would be compensations. As a matter of fact they still could have the joy of fighting the name, but at the same time would be fighting for things—jobs and tolerance—which, though communism itself espouses them, the American people do need.

We feel that if, in this process, the Legion and the Klan should talk each other out of existence, the nation still would stand to come out ahead.

West Coast wire

Jobs and China plague California and Oregon politicos

By Gene Richards
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

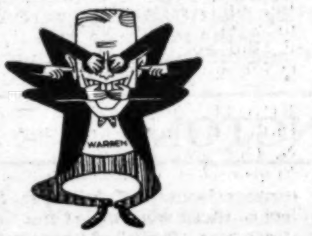
CALIFORNIA politics is shaping up for a showdown on China, unemployment and related problems.

State Director of Employment James G. Bryant has reported 445,000 unemployed and predicts 600,000 by March. Both figures are considered conservative by labor and progressive leaders.

Bryant blamed seasonal declines and population growth. To these factors, groups as varied as labor, shipping companies and the Chamber of Commerce add the embargo on trade with China.

Cotton farmers in Madera County eyed their jammed warehouses and grumbled about delayed recognition of the New China. In Los Angeles, Col. Robert Allen Griffin, former associate director of the Economic Cooperation Administration for China, called for recognition.

SILENCE FROM ABOVE: To all the tumult about unemployment, Gov. Earl Warren, a candidate for re-election, turns a deaf ear. His principal opponent, James Roosevelt, onetime Eisenhower Democrat, has made some political capital of the situation but offers no concrete proposals to meet the crisis.



The single specific action was offered by the Independent Progressive Party, which launched a campaign for 100,000 signatures on a petition by March 1 demanding a comprehensive public works program, restoration of pension benefits and establishment of a decent relief setup.

IPP conferees from all over the state carved out the program, placing it ahead of a plan to put a billion-dollar publics works initiative on the November ballot. Spokesmen said conditions are too critical to await fall action.

At grassroots levels, too, the IPP was conferring with other groups with a common aim of guaranteeing that candidates pledged to progressive action will be in the November races for state and national offices.

ISSUES ARE THERE: It seemed likely that unemployment, public works, trade with the Orient and pensions would become important factors in the campaign despite the efforts of the two old parties to run the usual "non-partisan" races.

Two-fifths of California's population is new, and most of that post-Pearl Harbor. The state which once lured the nation's rich is bewildered by the influx of ex-GI's and former war workers, together with migrant laborers from the midwest and south.

The elections will pose the sharpest issues in California since the war. Voters will be invited to speak up on the cold war, trade restrictions and unemployment, and the old politicians will need some new answers.

PORTLAND, ORE.

LAST year Oregon's unemployment was bad. This year in many cities it is twice as bad.

U.S. refusal to trade with the new Chinese republic is a prime cause. Out of this root problem—plus the issue of the Columbia Valley Authority—is rising a farm-labor coalition which may loosen the Republican grip on the state.

Coming up are a series of grassroot farmer and labor conferences.

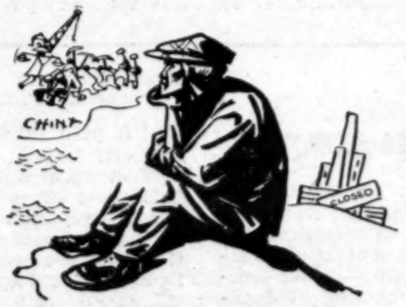
LOSE TRADE, LOSE JOB: China was once Oregon's third best customer. With trade now shut off, a slump has hit four major areas in the lumber and grain belt where joblessness has increased 100% in a year.

The issue was brought into focus recently with a leaflet, "The Export Crisis In Wheat," issued by the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Bread and butter for Oregon's wheat growers, dockers and maritime workers hang on resumption of trade with the Chinese republic, it warned.

WAITING IN LINE: With China trade cut off, Portland's 65 trucking firms are working at one-third capacity, while hundreds wait vainly for jobs in the Teamster's Union building. Lumber workers have exhausted their unemployment benefits, and at the office of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Indigent Fund applicants waited in line for two days to reach the desk.

Republican temporizing with the proposed Columbia Valley Authority which would bring benefits to millions through irrigation and cheap public power, has helped bring farmer and labor groups together.

Other issues stirring united political action include destruction of rent controls in a number of cities.



GETTING TOGETHER: Oregon labor is stirring on several fronts, particularly since high labor brass refused to press for wage increases in 1949 in favor of watered-down pension deals. In Portland the AFL Central Labor Council's 100,000 members unseated president Phil Brady after 15 years of rule as a henchman of teamster czar Dave Beck. Into his place, through a write-in campaign they put a man whom Brady had ruled off the ballot—Roy Renoud of the Electrical Workers Union.

Of these ingredients—harassed unions, impoverished dirt farmers, advocates of CVA, the stream of unemployed, indigent veterans, China trade devotees, a worried State Grange and progressive political groups—Oregon's popular front against unemployment and the cold war in 1950 is being forged.

Variation on an old theme

(courtesy Ye Olde Almanac)

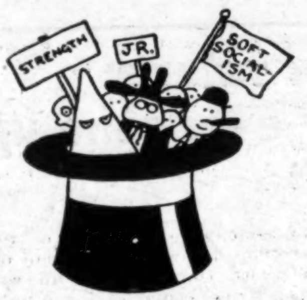
A certain fastidious woman in our town kneads dough with her gloves on. That's nothing.

The Editor of this paper needs dough with his shoes on. He needs it with his shirt on. He needs it with his pants on.

And if the subscribers of this paper don't pony up mighty soon, he'll need it without a durned thing on—and City Hall Park in mid-winter is no Garden of Eden!

(Continued from preceding page)

popular hold upon the people by their effort to cut the pattern of their issues according to the cloth of regional attitudes. . . ."



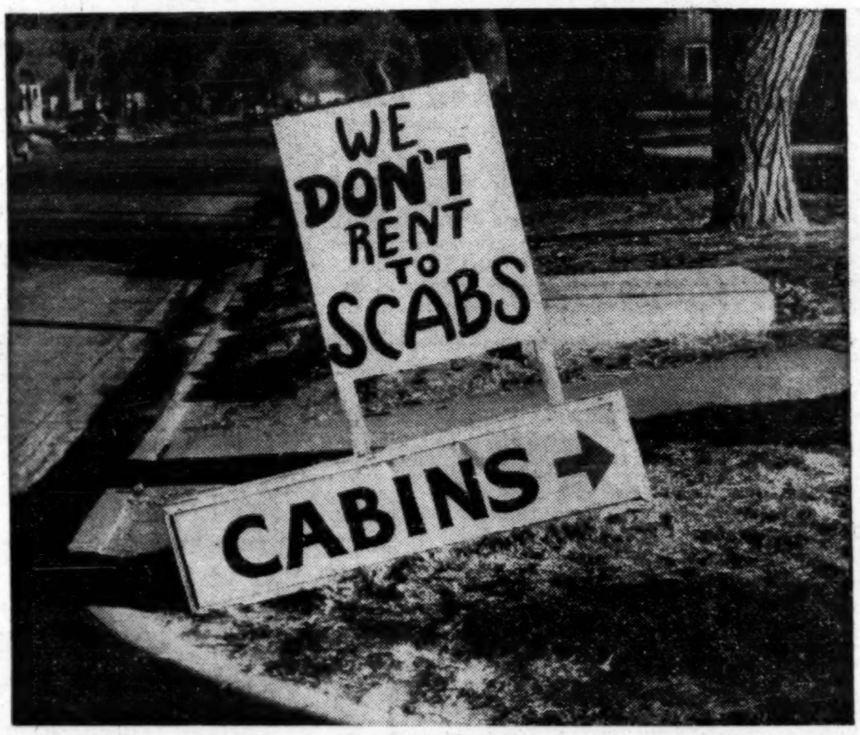
GRAND OLD PHRASES: Republicans, after months of striving to find a policy, last week claimed to have produced one. Six Republican governors, classed within the party as "liberals," issued a proposed policy statement: a 12-point "party rebuilding program" along "progressive" lines. The suggested "new" slogan is: "Freedom, Strength, Solvency." The program calls for "strengthening the value of the dollar," health for the people, "just" incomes for farmers, "adequate" care for the needy, and "affirmative world leadership."

The program pleased National Republican chairman Gabrielson, evoked a smile from Taft, and from President Truman an invitation to Gov. James Duff of Pennsylvania, chairman of the group, to join the Democratic Party. The Governor "very positively" declined.

Junior in the soup

Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. (D-Lib.-N.Y.) was in hot water last week. In Congress he was attacked for neglecting his duties for "nocturnal meditations on 52nd St" [New York's night club district]. He was also rebuked for saying at the Democratic Party's Victory Dinner in New York: "I hate socialism." August Claessens, a leader of the Social Democratic Federation and a founder of the Liberal Party, credited with winning Roosevelt's election, wrote protesting "that if that is your attitude toward socialism and Socialists it is unfortunate that we did not know about this sooner." Had the Socialists known it, "we surely would not have embarrassed you with our cooperation."

LABOR WEEK



In Carlsbad, N. M., where 1,500 potash miners were on strike against three companies, Rev. J. A. Davis put this sign up on tourist cabins owned by his church. But there weren't enough people like Rev. Davis and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers strikers went back last week after 74 days without victory. NLRB officials met secretly with the companies, didn't talk to the miners; anti-picketing injunctions were slapped on the strikers; union officials were arrested; state police and hired "bodyguards" threatened strikers with guns while they herded scabs into the mines. The companies have refused to rehire 400 workers replaced by scabs during the strike. The union is appealing to NLRB.

MINERS

John L. defiant

IT was the dead of winter and this was the coal situation:

- The miners had been without a contract since June. Some were working three days a week under union orders. Some 100,000 refused to work at all.
- The stockpiles were shrinking.
- The operators had turned down all union demands for increases in pensions and wages; and demanded instead the elimination of some benefits the miners won last year.

THE AXE AT HAND: On Tuesday President Truman asked both sides to accept a 70-day truce during which miners would work a five-day week and a fact-finding board would investigate the situation. An alternative was the Taft-Hartley injunction.

On Wednesday negotiations were to have been resumed, but operators walked out of the meeting and announced acceptance of Truman's offer. Under the truce terms they would have the production they wanted without a contract; in 70 days coal demands would be lessened, stockpiles would be up, and they would be in a better bargaining position.

Lewis rejected the offer. In a letter to Truman he said: "For eight months, Mr. President, they [coal operators] have boasted that the abomination, known as the Taft-Hartley Act, rendered it unnecessary to concede anything, and that in the end your high office, wielding Taft's club, would beat the mine workers into submission. . . . As a penalty for refusing the coal operators' dictated terms, your office offers arbitration by three strangers, who know not of the industry nor the human beings who delve in it. . . . The mine workers do not wish three strangers . . . to fix their wages, decree their working conditions, define their living

(Continued on following page)

Wallace, Marc, Benson address Progressive Party convention Feb. 24

PROGRESSIVES in 35 states this week are going about the business of choosing more than 1,000 delegates to represent them when their party meets in Chicago Feb. 24 in its second national convention. Focus will be on forming a program and course of action for the fall elections.

Permanent co-chairman of the three-day sessions will be Earl Dickerson of Chicago, former member of the President's Fair Employment Commission and past president of the National Negro Bar Assn., and Hugh Bryson, president of the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards Union. The Resolutions Committee, which will draft the party program, is headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, noted Negro historian and author (see pp. 6 and 7).

To Rep. Vito Marcantonio of New York goes the chairmanship of the Congressional Campaigns Committee.

LOOK AT THE RECORD: National Party Chairman Elmer A. Benson said last week:

"Headlines in the daily press explain why growing delegations from every state are planning to come to Chicago. The complete bankruptcy of the cold-war policy has been revealed in President Truman's desperate order to manufacture the Hell Bomb . . . Both old parties show their contempt of the Negro people by maneuvers that demonstrate they want FEPC as a political issue but not as a law.

"The just demands of the mine workers are countered with a government application for a Taft-Hartley injunction. Federal, state and local officials of both old parties watch callously as unemployment rises steadily and relief offices brazenly cut allotments below subsistence levels. And even former War Secretary Kenneth Royal denounced the ostrich policy of withholding recognition from the new government of China and denying to American businessmen, farmers and workers the trade and jobs this vast market would open up.

GET THE ANSWER: "The American people are looking for answers that neither old party can give. That is why we are confident that they will come to hear and listen with interest to the answers of the Progressive Party."

Henry A. Wallace, Marcantonio and Benson will be the main speakers at the opening session of the convention in Chicago's Ashland Auditorium.

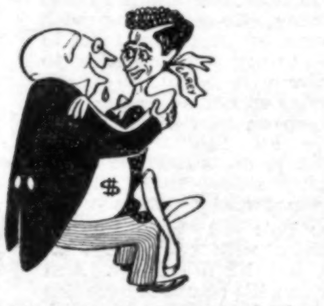
(Continued from preceding page)

standards and limit the educational opportunities of their children."

At Truman's side was the Taft-Hartley axe. On Monday he swung it against the miners.

UE—IUE

Carey refreshes GE



THE 125,000 workers in General Electric plants are covered by a contract with the independent United Electrical Workers. James Carey's newly-formed International Union of Electrical Workers (CIO) claimed a majority and called for an NLRB election. Ordinarily it would have to show proof of such a majority—but the company neatly extricated Carey from the hook by itself petitioning for such an election.

The company further backed Carey when last month it discontinued the dues check-off for UE members.

In Schenectady, N.Y., where GE employs 15,000, UE officials collected 13,500 applications for a new check-off. Among 9,000 GE workers in Erie, Pa., UE collected 8,300 applications. The company reinstated the check-off.

"HONORABLE AND USEFUL?" On Jan. 28, Carey got a temporary court injunction preventing GE from checking off dues for UE. Lemuel R. Boulware, GE vice president, commented: "It is always refreshing to see unions apply to the courts for the supposedly hated injunction, as there is inherent in such moves the admission that the injunction is an honorable and useful instrument."

Workers in Schenectady said they would pay their dues directly to the union while the injunction was in effect. In Washington, the NLRB ordered elections in five General Motors electrical plants employing 27,000 workers.

PHONE WORKERS

Sorry, wrong wages

THE average telephone operator gets $38 a week; rates vary north, south, east and west so that southern workers putting in the same hours at the same jobs get $22 less than those in the east, who get above average. An operator has to work eight years before getting the top wage of $52. Since the war the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. has spent $4,500,000 on a mechanization program that may ultimately mean fewer workers.

In 1947, 350,000 A. T. & T. workers from 49 unions struck for wage increases and reduction of differentials. The strikers lost on most of their demands when the unions negotiated separately.

NOW THEY ARE ONE: Since then the unions have merged to form the CIO Communications Workers of America. Last May the union opened negotiations with the company for wage increases, reduction of differentials, a 35-hour week and improved pensions and vacations. The company rejected all the demands. Mediation efforts failed and company officials spurned arbitration.

Last week Joseph A Beirne, president of CWA, announced that 350,000 workers would strike Feb. 8. He asked the public not to boycott the company but to give it the business during the strike: telephone until the switchboards jam. CIO pledged full support.

MARITIME UNION

Setback for Curran

JOSEPH CURRAN, president of the National Maritime Union, has ruled the big New York local with an uncertain hand. In November he removed opposition officials with the aid of police and strong-arm supporters. Last month he forced through motions expelling several opposition leaders at meetings where police and strong-arm squads lined the aisles.

NMU Vice-President Jack Lawrenson, an opposition leader and possible candidate against Curran, was scheduled to be expelled at a meeting on Thursday. Lawrenson lost a court move to force a secret ballot. Burly members of the pro-Curran group, who arrived early in force, patrolled the hall with police; doors were locked with 2,500 opposition seamen still outside.

Neal Hanley, NMU secretary-treasurer, read the charges and was booed; Lawrenson got a standing ovation. Honest Ballot Assn. officials counted the vote. Despite intimidation, the motion to expel Lawrenson was defeated. The seamen cheered.

READY FOR NEXT FIGHT: Lawrenson told the GUARDIAN: "This represents the turning point in our united fight to restore the democratic tradition to our union. I am confident the membership in the other locals will also rise up to defeat Curran."

On Feb. 19 delegates from locals across the country are to meet in New York to organize a slate to oppose the Curran machine in May.

FREEDOMS

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

Platitudes aplenty

WHEN Negroes celebrate their contributions to U. S. life and culture, as they will from Feb. 12 through Feb. 19, the nation celebrates with them. Schools, radio stations, newspapers and public meetings give rare attention to the achievements of 14,000,000 Americans. Little is said in polite circles about sordid things like discrimination, segregation, persecution and outright terror.

These are some of the timely indications that more than a week of platitudes could profitably be devoted to the subject:

RACISM IN RADIO: In New York, the Committee for the Negro in the Arts suggested to the American Broadcasting Co. the possibility of special Negro History Week broadcasts. Replied ABC: "We have no special plans for the observance . . . just as we plan no special observance during the year of an exclusively Caucasian history or any other such feature which would designate one race from another in this nation. We believe that, in a democracy of our kind, all men should be color blind in matters such as this."

The committee answered: "Were Negroes to close their eyes, they would still smell the ghetto tenements and feel the slap-in-the-face of prejudice. . . . You may believe [illegible] democracy . . . but on the record of your letter, the only conclusion which can be drawn is that you use the word democracy to cover undemocratic actions."

BIGOTRY IN BOOKS: In Culver City, Calif., the publishing firm of Murray & Gee put out a new book, **College Football,** by Christy Walsh. One of the great college ends of all time was Paul Robeson of Rutgers, chosen on Walter Camp's 1918 All-America squad—the same Paul Robeson who is now making U.S. and Negro history as a fighter for democratic rights. Robeson's name was carefully edited out of Walsh's book, even from Camp's All-America listing, making the 1918 honor team a unique ten-man line-up.

(Continued on page 8)

The Kirkendoll frameup

Chicago Negro gets 75 yrs. after he rejects shakedown

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO, ILL.

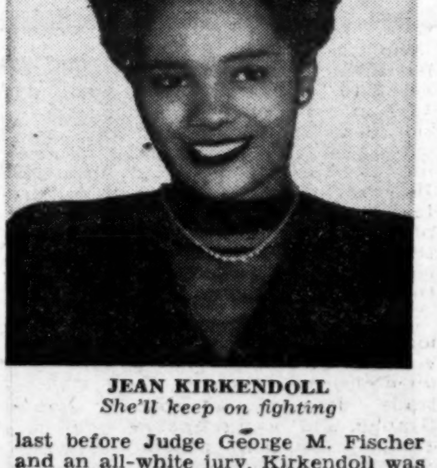
ROBERT Lee Kirkendoll is 20 years old; since he was ten he has been peddling fruits and vegetables in Chicago's South Side Negro ghetto. Cops there exact a tribute from vendors; for Kirkendoll the shakedown was $5 a week. Last June he decided to quit paying.

Less than a month later, Detectives William Healy and Howard Pierson arrested Kirkendoll; the charge was purse-snatching, the evidence thin. Kirkendoll got three years' probation.

His 19-year-old wife Jean reported: "After the trial, those two policemen told me they would 'get him yet.'"

MOONLIGHT IN THE RAIN: They were back in a week. The charge: rape "in the moonlight." Kirkendoll's lawyer proved it rained the night of the attack. He was freed.

One week later the two cops were pounding the Kirkendoll door with their gun butts. The charge this time: raping a 50-year-old spinster, Mary Service, a librarian. This attack allegedly occurred in daylight near a large window in the hallway of a crowded apartment building. Miss Service "identified" Kirkendoll for Pierson and Healy.



JEAN KIRKENDOLL
She'll keep on fighting

The case came to trial week before last before Judge George M. Fischer and an all-white jury. Kirkendoll was defended by two Civil Rights Congress attorneys.

HE WASN'T THERE: Miss Service's recital seemed well rehearsed. When interrupted, she went back a sentence or two and repeated word for word, with the same emphasis. Dr. Barkley Wilkinson, the Service family doctor, testified there was no conclusive evidence of rape.

Five defense witnesses testified that Kirkendoll was at least a mile from the scene at the time. Fenton Harsh, a South Side realtor, swore he talked to Robert and Jean Kirkendoll outside his office 14 blocks from the Service apartment ten minutes before the alleged rape.

Marie Fitzhugh, cashier at the Vito Self-Service Mart, testified she had talked with the Kirkendolls in the store at exactly the time the rape was said to have occurred.

Dorothy Walters, LeRoy Sykes and Eliza Moss, neighbors of the Kirkendolls, swore they talked with the couple as they arrived home with two bags of groceries five minutes after the rape was supposed to have occurred a mile away.

"JUSTICE" IS SERVED: The all-white jury brought in a verdict of guilty. The sentence: 75 years.

Mrs. Kirkendoll was fired from her job as a clerk in a Woolworth store. Marie Fitzhugh lost her job at the Self-Service Mart.

The Civil Rights Congress is raising $15,000 bail to free Kirkendoll pending appeal and another $3,000 to finance the appeal itself. The Baptist Ministers Association has voted to support the appeal "morally and financially."

Jean Kirkendoll is standing solidly behind her husband. She is appearing before all kinds of groups of all sizes telling her story and appealing for funds.

The Negro in America

Right to work, right to vote —a cross-country report

By Barney Conal

THERE are over 15,000,000 Negroes in the U. S. today. Almost two-thirds of them (9,530,000) live in the south. In the north, about 2,300,000 live in the eastern states, 2,500,000 in the central states and almost 900,000 in the west.

Though they constitute only 9.2% of the total U. S. population, all the evidence points to the Negro people as the touchstone of America's future as a democracy. In all parts of the U. S. they face bias in employment, segregation and discrimination in housing and schooling, jimcrow in transportation and recreation, and restriction of citizenship rights.

FEPC rally in N.Y.

There will be a Lincoln's Birthday Rally for FEPC at New York's Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Av., Monday, Feb. 13, at 7:30 p.m. The rally is sponsored by the American Labor Party, which urges all ALP members to get their neighbors and shopmates to attend. Admission is 25 cents. Rep. Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell will speak.

In the year 1950 A.D., discriminatory hiring and firing of Negroes (and other minorities) is permitted **in all but eight states.** Even in these eight states racial and religious discrimination in hiring and firing is the most common illegal practice. Only six cities in the U. S. have ordinances prohibiting discrimination.

BETTER BE WHITE: Only ten states out of 48 prohibit segregation of Negro and white children in our public schools; only four of them prohibit it in private schools.

Twenty-one states and the District of Columbia authorize segregation in public schools by law. Eighteen make such segregation **mandatory,** 3 permit it by law.

In **30 states** segregation and jimcrow on trains, buses, street cars and in playgrounds and recreation centers are permitted by law.

In **29 states** marriage between whites and persons of darker skins is prohibited by law.

In 47 states, Negroes are permitted to be (and are) herded into "color" ghettos, and their dwellings segregated from those of whites. Other minorities, racial and religious, in almost all states receive similar treatment to an equal or lesser degree. Only 6 states (Conn., N.J., N.Y., Mass., Penn., Wis.) prohibit racial and religious discrimination in public housing.

IT'S EXPENSIVE: This deep nationwide erosion of America's democratic soil has already blighted the lives of tens of millions of American children and adults.

Its cost in terms of dollars as well as lives has been astronomical. It dwarfs the cost of all past wars and is surpassed only by the similar practices of the British, French, Belgian and Dutch colonial powers—practices now receiving militant U. S. financial and political support in Asia and Africa.

WHITE ALLIES: Long before and during the Civil War the Negro people began to fight back. They found white allies among the upland peoples of the south and the progressives of the north.

Today the urbanizing of America and the growth of industry in the south have built up increasingly powerful groups of Negro voters with potential balance-of-power strength in most large cities. The number of Negro voters in the south has grown from 211,000 in 1940 to over 1,000,000 registered in 1948.

Only seven states still retain the poll tax. But more effective than the poll tax in restricting the Negro vote are the exclusive white primaries and the elaborate and deliberate registration obstructions at the polls. These obstacles are also the major factors keeping the vote of the poorer whites so low that in 1948 only 15% of Alabama's eligibles voted; in Arkansas only 20%; in Florida only 28%; in Georgia only 13%; and even in North Carolina, which has had no poll tax since 1920, only 14%.

THE ANSWER—VOTES: The immensity and urgency of the democratic job to be done can also be gauged from the fact that in 1947, according to the best estimates available, only 1.2% of the Negro population were qualified to vote; in Mississippi 0.9%, in Louisiana 2.6%, in South Carolina 13%, in Virginia 13.2%, in North Carolina 15.2%.

Georgia until recently had 125,000 qualified Negro voters, most of them in the large cities. The Dixiecrat state legislature and governor have now enacted a law disqualifying them all.

American Negroes as a whole are today alerted to the necessity and feasibility of political organization and action. They know they will win their basic fight for full freedom and equality only when and if:

Their political bargaining power is built up throughout the country into an independent striking force, free in the South to put up or bargain with candidates in the Democratic primaries; free in the North and West to use their independent bargaining power with the parties as well as candidates.

W.E.B. Du Bois: Story of a half century of distinguished service to humanity

By Herbert Aptheker

Surely Thou, too, art not white, O Lord, a pale, bloodless, heartless thing?

. . . North is greed and South is blood; within the coward, and without the liar. Whither?

THESE were questions for William Du Bois, posed in his magnificent **Litany at Atlanta** which he wrote in 1906 immediately after the massacre of Negroes in the city where the young scholar and his family were living.

Looking at himself and finding himself strong, Du Bois had dedicated himself in 1893 to the search for truth. He would carve out a name in literature and science and he would fight for his people. The next year, in Germany, "free of iron bands," Du Bois told himself that he would yet be "a man worthy of my race and my fathers."

Many 20-year-olds lay out for themselves similar high and bold endeavors. But how few are those of whom one may say, after 60 years, that the promises of youth are the records of history!

The iron bands, the search for truth, the fight for freedom—in three phrases the life of a man and of a people. Three phrases and one reality: the search for truth forged by and forging the fight for freedom from the iron bands.

Young Du Bois set himself to study and study again—languages, literature, sociology, economics, anthropology, history. The appetite was insatiable.

And while discovering the truth he would broadcast it. He would teach—Wilberforce and Atlanta Universities; he would write—in all mediums from scientific studies like **The Suppression of the African Slave Trade** (1896), to his **Quest of the Silver Fleece** (1911), in the latter work joining Chestnut and Dunbar as a forerunner of the modern Negro novel.

TRUTH was to be hammered out, truth was to be fought for and fought for collectively. For while the scholar probed, others organized; while the searcher mused, others acted. And truth while real was also dynamic. To keep up with it, to grasp it, meant to use it, and using it meant unity with others.

This was not simple for one of Du Bois' temperament and training. To get along with others, to persuade face to face, to overcome shyness, to resolve nice doubts, to compromise on non-essentials and to keep on exerting pressure, while all the time being drawn to one's first love—research, study—these things were not easily done.

Du Bois did them—not all of them with complete success, but he did them. And here lies his courage, here lies his historic stature, his profoundest giving of himself to "his race and his fathers."

IN the Georgia of 50 years ago Du Bois wrote the Address of the First Annual Meeting of the Equal Rights Association. Speaking for 200 delegates representing 1,000,000 people, he had insisted: "We must agitate, complain, protest . . . and above all organize these million brothers of ours into one great fist which shall never cease to pound at the gates of opportunity until they fly op

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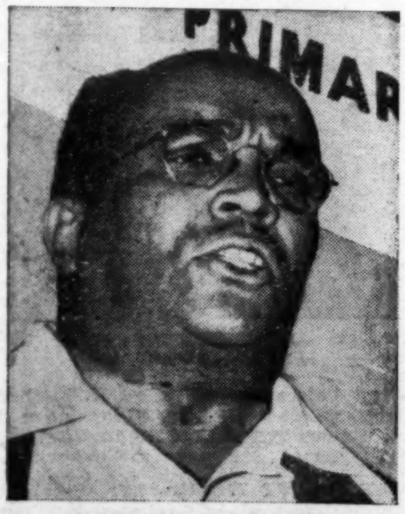
They have made their contributions in human rights, medicine, religion and the public service

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Secretary, Civil Rights Congress; civil rights attorney and author.



REV. CHARLES A. HILL
Detroit, Mich., minister and Progressive Party leader; polled 116,627 votes in last year's election for City Council.

DR. EDWARD FRANKLIN FRAZIER
Head of the Sociology Dept., Howard University; head of the American Sociological Society, 1948, member of UNESCO.

ADA JACKSON
American Labor Party leader in Brooklyn, N.Y.; community and educational leader; born in Georgia of slave parents.

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DR. W. E. B. Du BOIS
To many the man of the half century

This life of genius which has been so incredibly fruitful is now at its apex. He works now, in his association with the Council on African Affairs and the newly-formed Committee for Cooperation with the New South, as he has for over 60 years, in the compilation, interpretation and presentation of data. But he sees more clearly now than ever before that the collation of data is the **start** of truth-bearing. He sees that science is not merely a collection of facts, but that it is a guide to action, that it does not stop with "what is," but goes on to **what is to be done.**

IT is this conception of the unity of theory and practice that has led him, in his latest book **Africa and the World** (1947), to refer to Karl Marx as "the greatest of modern philosophers" — characteristically adding that he is "undeterred by the witch-hunting which always follows mention of his name."

Du Bois began his life with a vow to follow the truth. He has lived his days in accordance therewith. Now, at the summit of his experience, he sees that we can and we must battle "the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of the monopolists."

This he feels is, in our era of acute crisis, "the truth"—the truth that will bring peace and make men free.

HERBERT APTHEKER, associate editor of "Masses and Mainstream" and author of many basic works on the U. S. Negro, is now editing the letters of Dr. Du Bois.

ON CAPITOL HILL
Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) and Rep. William L. Dawson (D-Ill.), the only two Negro Representatives in Congress.

The Negro in labor

The lesson of the CIO — it's the key to democracy

By Robert E. Light

> *It is no secret that the once militant organization (the CIO) which was once the haven and great white hope of colored labor has been exposed for its desertion of the race.*
>
> **From a column by Ralph Matthews in the Washington** Afro-American, **leading Negro newspaper.**

TO some it has long been no secret; to many others the revelation came during the National Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington Jan. 15-17, called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with the CIO as a key sponsor.

The mobilization drew mass support. More than 50 organizations joined the crusade. Many more offered full cooperation. But CIO president Philip Murray and NAACP leader Roy Wilkins erected a fence. Only the pure could fight for civil rights.

Ruled out by these two were the Civil Rights Congress, the Progressive Party, the Young Progressives, ten left-wing unions, and the independent United Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers (90% Negro).

YOU GOTTA BE PURE: On a local level NAACP leaders not only accepted but openly invited progressive support.

But in Washington all delegates were screened by a six-man committee headed by CIO's Willard Townsend. The University of Chicago NAACP chapter filled three buses; Townsend thought the members had "communist leanings" and refused them credentials. The same ruling went for the Howard University delegation. Ten delegates from the Jones Tabernacle Baptist Church in Baltimore, armed with letters of introduction from the pastor, were turned away. In all, more than 800 persons were denied credentials.

Resentment was swift. Lindsay White, president of the N.Y. NAACP, prepared a stern protest to the national office. Dr. Eugene Holmes of Howard University said: "All people who are working for civil rights should be working together."

Others looking to place the blame found the source. Mr. Matthews' comment in the **Afro-American** summed up: "Just what were the sinister forces behind this movement? The answer is simple—the CIO."

John M. Lee in the Negro weekly **California Eagle** reported: "It was the CIO that was responsible for the scarehead tactic of announcing the banning of Communists."

THE OLD DAYS: There was a history to CIO's latest disruption. When the CIO was formed in 1936, organizers chanted: "Equal pay for equal work, regardless of race." A clause guaranteeing equal rights was written into the CIO constitution.

Ten years later came the first open break in CIO-Negro unity. During the war Negroes had won their first opportunity for mass employment in industry. More than 1,000,000 found jobs in war plants. When veterans returned to claim their old jobs, Negroes were the first to be fired; mass unemployment hit them.

They looked to the CIO for help and found none.

TRADITION, YOU KNOW: In 1946 the CIO opened its southern organizing drive. For southern Negroes this seemed a chance to attain the economic level of white workers and together raise standards for all. But CIO vice-president Van Bittner announced that the operation would stay "within the framework of southern tradition and custom." This meant jimcrow locals, jimcrow standards. Negroes and progressive whites warned it wouldn't work. Today the southern drive is a failure.

Antagonism of Negroes toward the CIO has grown in the past four years. Its ties with the Democratic Party have alienated many. Fred Piper, a southern regional director, was a delegate to the Dixiecrat convention. Later he was promoted to a paying job on the CIO organizing staff while Harry Bridges was fired from a non-paying position for supporting Henry Wallace.

In Alabama state and county Political Action Committees of the CIO supported Dixiecrats. National PAC boasted it helped re-elect Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.), who had promised voters that their wives and daughters would never have to work beside a Negro.

JIMCROW OR EXPULSION: In its 1949 convention call the Maryland-Washington, D.C., CIO Council announced that only segregated facilities would be available for Negroes. In Houston, Tex., and New Orleans, La., Joseph Curran's National Maritime Union maintains jimcrow hiring halls for Negro members.

In Philip Murray's own United Steel Workers resentment has risen to the point of revolt. Negro delegates to union conventions are urged to stay at jimcrow hotels. In Birmingham, Ala., Negroes have threatened to secede because their grievances are ignored by union officials.

Equal treatment for the Negro in CIO today is largely limited to the ten progressive unions scheduled to be expelled this month. But on such equality the future of labor depends; and hope for it depends on a united effort to force a return to CIO's founding principles.

WILLIAM H. HASTIE
Former Howard University Law School dean; first Negro Governor of the Virgin Islands; Judge of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

DR. CHARLES DREW
Medical Director, Freedman Hospital, Howard University; authority on the preservation of blood plasma.

(Continued from page 5)

NEW HAVEN CASE

Crime: tolerance

IN May, 1949, Margaret Ackerman of New Haven, Conn., returned to the home she shared with two other women after an evening spent with Lonie Ward, a Negro war veteran. It was late, and she invited Ward to sleep on the downstairs couch. Then she went upstairs to bed.

A little while later five policemen pounded at the door; two squad cars and a patrol wagon pulled up. Miss Ackerman and her co-tenants were routed from their rooms and hauled off, with Ward, to police headquarters. There Miss Ackerman and Ward were charged with "lascivious carriage" under a law passed in 1789.

Police first said neighbors had complained, then admitted the raid was ordered because association of whites and Negroes "obviously meant that there was trouble." The defendants were convicted, fined $25 each. On appeal they won a new trial, which opened last week.

THE TRENTON PATTERN: Judge Raymond J. Devlin began by barring two of the defense lawyers, Louis Fleischer and Ralph Powe of the Civil Rights Congress. The pattern was that of Judge Charles Hutchinson, who barred CRC attorneys from the Trenton Six defense.

Selection of jurors showed intense community bias. One described interracial friendships as "unfortunate." Others said they would consider the defendants guilty until proved innocent. In all cases the judge forced the defense to use its challenges, dismissed no jurors himself.

The CRC calls the New Haven case a "judicial attempt to perpetuate jimcrow." Aside from the clear civil rights issue, Connecticut progressives have mobilized to protest Judge Devlin's "Trenton" ruling against the lawyers. Others are urged to send their protests direct to the Court House, New Haven.

A 1c stamp and a simple, one-end wrapper will forward your GUARDIAN to some friend who may subscribe. Don't hoard yours.

THE TRIALS

HARRY BRIDGES

Target: lawyers

ROBERT W. KENNY, former Attorney General of California, took the stand last week to testify that Harry Bridges had a good reputation for truth and integrity. Kenny's estimate was supported by three waterfront employers and a Catholic priest.

The priest, Rev. Paul Meinecke, said he had organized the Assn. of Catholic Trade Unionists in San Francisco, was sure Bridges wasn't a Communist. (Bridges is charged with perjury in denying Communist affiliation.)

NO JUDICIAL SHAME: Judge George B. Harris questioned the priest himself. As he began to probe into Father Meinecke's mental processes, Defense Attorneys Vincent Hallinan and James McInnis objected. Said McInnis: "I think you should cite yourself for misconduct . . . You ought to be ashamed of yourself, judge."

Judge Harris wasn't ashamed. He found McInnis in contempt for the remark, said he would sentence him later. Hallinan has already been sentenced to six months for daring to question Judge Harris' rulings.

Bridges' supporters last week displayed a pious quotation: "The weaker ones drop out or turn stoolpigeons, possibly, but the strong ones always go ahead." It was uttered by John H. Schomaker, now a government witness against Bridges, at a longshore union convention June 9, 1943.

COPLON-GUBITCHEV

Feeble gumshoes

FEDERAL Bureau of Investigation agents are supposed to be trained observers. Literally dozens of them had observed Judith Coplon and Valentin Gubitchev (now being tried on charges of conspiracy to spy on the U. S.) by listening to their voices on tapped phones, by opening their mail and by watching them.

Last week the U. S. put FBI men on the witness stand to tell about Coplon-Gubitchev meetings in the Bronx; what they told seemed slightly confusing, hardly incriminating. One agent said Miss Coplon once had an open purse and Gubitchev seemed to stretch out an arm, but he could see nothing pass between them. Another said Miss Coplon "struck" at Gubitchev with a folded newspaper, changed the word to "gesticulated" when asked if spies would strike each other on a street.

Other FBI witnesses were withdrawn after the first tangled stories. The defense said the meetings were occasioned by romance.

JUDITH COPLON
She had quite a following

HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL

The retrial opens

ON March 1, 1947, Harold Christoffel testified before the House Labor Committee, then drafting the Taft-Hartley bill. He was former president and strike leader of the United Auto Workers local at Allis-Chalmers.

The committee received his views, then went after his political beliefs. Was he a Communist? He said he was not, was thereafter indicted for perjury and convicted. On appeal, the U. S. Supreme Court threw out the verdict because the government hadn't proved that the House committee had a quorum present when Christoffel gave his reply.

A TEST OF JUSTICE: Last week the retrial opened in Washington. The U. S. hoped to convict Christoffel again by having enough congressmen testify they were present and heard Christoffel's statement to the committee. It may be difficult, because that was a snowy Saturday afternoon—a time when even 14 congressmen don't like to work.

The Christoffel case tests the right of Congress to pry into personal beliefs and the methods used to "get" militant labor leaders. As it opened, Christoffel's attorney O. John Rogge won a vital point: the court upheld his motion to bar government workers and their close relatives from the jury.

Max Werner

Blind hydrogen

THE decision to go ahead with construction of the super-bomb will bring about an unprecedented crisis in our strategy and foreign policy. Yet lamentations will not help—clarity is demanded.

First of all, the hydrogen bomb has nothing to do with security and defense; on the contrary, it cannot be anything else but an instrument of **insecurity and offensive.** In its destructive power it is too big to be aimed at any military or even industrial objective: its function can be only blind annihilation of civilian populations.

The amount of physical danger to the U. S. is obvious. Sen. Brien McMahon (D-Conn.), influential chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Commission, believes that 400 "simple" pre-hydrogen atomic bombs can kill 16,000,000 Americans and injure 16,000,000 more. Acceptance of the hydrogen bomb as a legitimate part of the arsenal eases the drifting into unrestricted, unrestrained super-war. If the hell-bomb is allowed, everything is allowed. Reactions of horror from frightened Europe are forthcoming. Says the London **New Statesman and Nation:**

DR. HAROLD UREY

> **To go ahead with the production of the hydrogen bomb would be tantamount to admitting not only that the Third World War is inevitable, but that it will be fought predominantly by methods of mass murder which would outstrip the wildest dreams of the SS and Himmler.**

SCIENTISTS IN WONDERLAND: Yet even worse than the physical qualities of the super-bomb are its political implications. The hell-bomb creates the specious illusion of military strength, and can evoke an irresitible temptation for the preventive war. A few days ago, in his appeal for super-bomb production, Dr. Harold Urey, the famous Nobel prize winner, illustrated how dangerous the errings of atomic thought on that matter can be.

Testifying before the Senate Committee on November 29, 1945, Dr. Urey believed that:

> **We can blow the enemy's cities off the earth and take possession of the earth, occupy it with our armies and begin the job of running the world according to our own ideas.**

From a purely military point of view, at no time was such an "Operation Universe" feasible. Already the fledgling atomic bomb had distorted military facts, created illusions and mirages. The next conclusion was even simpler: the monopoly of the atomic bomb has to be preserved by all means.

When the Soviet A-bomb made its appearance, Dr. Urey recognized the futility of the atomic monopoly and the atomic race. He stated then that Soviet atomic production may wipe out the U. S. lead. But now he makes an appeal for the hydrogen bomb, which means for the second and heavier round of the atomic armament race.

THE COMING CRISIS: The case of Dr. Urey is not a personal one. It is a case of collective succumbing to the atomic temptation which is a deadly menace to our military policy. Since the weapon did not work, hopes are being put in the super-atomic weapons.

The first atomic round has provided the Soviet Union with the atomic bomb on its own, and has neutralized western Europe. What will happen in the next round? **A political crisis is in the offing.** We have to know with mathematical certainty that the Russians will develop this weapon, too.

The atomic bomb turned out to be the great disorganizer of U. S. strategy and an unbearable burden on U. S. foreign policy. Wrote the New York **Herald Tribune** in November 1948:

> **We have blunderingly got ourselves into a position in which the atomic bomb is actually the major basis of our military policy, the chief available sanction for our security and our policy. And it is an unuseable sanction, because to employ it is to produce and to invite a desolation which could be only disastrous to ourselves as to everyone else.**

With this experience in the atomic policy, the super-bomb appears to be a correspondingly bigger danger.

HUMANITIES

SHARE-THE WEALTH

Smile, baby, smile

EX-CHORUS girl Maxine Sanson looked at her baldish husband and said: "Darling, they want us to be pleasant in our hour of grief." Hosiery manufacturer Stanton D. Sanson replied: "Don't worry, honey, it's only money."

The Sansons had just been robbed of $428,000 in jewels, and were telling the press. The rest of the afternoon Maxine posed for photographers. She favored a left profile.

Man-about-town Billy Rose, returning home from a New York night out with his wife, also found their house burgled. Stolen were $100,000 in jewels and furs. Said Rose to the press: "I'm sure happy my baby wore her war paint tonight." Baby's paint was worth $250,000. Still in the house were $75,000 worth of antiques, eating tools and a $500,000 art collection.

THE POOR, POOR AGA: In New Delhi, India, another robbery victim unburdened himself to the press. He was the Aga Khan, father-in-law of film actress Rita Hayworth, whom robbers in the south of France had relieved of $500,000. The loss made little difference. As spiritual leader of Ismaili Moslems, he periodically gets his weight (225 pounds now) in precious metals and jewels. Four years ago it was diamonds; in 1954 it will be platinum.

The Aga expressed some dissatisfaction: "If the contribution from India nets me $75,000 a year, I am doing very well for myself." He noted that "the agricultural masses were physically thinner" and "the financial position of even the capitalist class is getting worse—their standards of clothing and jewelry have deteriorated."

EDUCATION

OPIATE FOR OATMAKERS

Cereal story

EVERY day little groups of Quaker Oats Co. employes in Akron, Ohio, are allowed to gather on company time

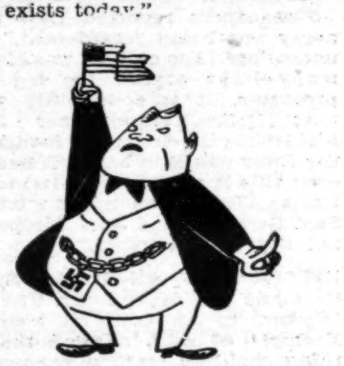
(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

and, for a fee, hear a lecture by company officials. The subject is always the menace of communism.

A typical talk by Delbert L. Miller included a discussion of Communist Party chairman William Z. Foster's 1932 book, **Toward Soviet America.** Foster said that Communists advocated public ownership of property and a housing program, social insurance for unemployment, sickness and accident, on a full-wage basis, a national health department furnishing free medicine. Lecturer Miller said these things were bad.

Miller also told the Quaker Oats staff his view of history: "Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome fell as a result of socialism. The important thing to remember is that not one of these great powers exists today."



LIVING COSTS

SURPLUS OF IDIOCY

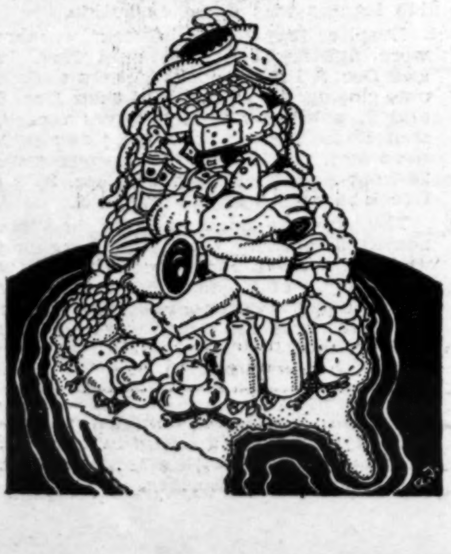
No sense in potatoes

FARMERS were getting too little, consumers were paying too much. "Surplus" eggs were being stored wastefully in caves while people could buy only a fraction of what they needed; and the egg producer was going broke.

On top of it all Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan last week reported that 25,000,000 bushels of potatoes would have to be destroyed. The government, which bought them as "surplus" at $1.25 a bushel to keep the price up, can't even give them away since it cannot afford to ship them and buyers will not come to get them.

LUNACY UNLIMITED: The government lost $250,000,000 on the 1948 crop, stands to lose $100,000,000 on last year's. Brannan had previously warned that another $2,000,000,000 would be needed to buy more food to be stored in caves or left to rot. $3,500,000,000 is already invested in "surpluses." The government is now spending from $15,000.000 to $20,000,000 a month in storage and insurance fees alone.

The idiocy has become public policy forged by the Truman Administration and Congress. The Administration refuses to push the sane Brannan Plan, except for campaign purposes; Congress refuses to take responsibility, showing concern only for big growers, letting consumers pay the bills.



The dirty war

France split over Viet-Nam symbol of new Resistance

By Stanley Karnow
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

PARIS

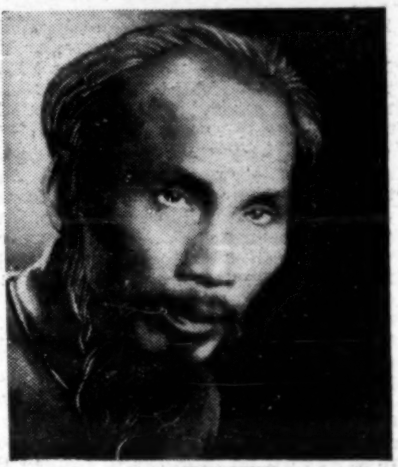
THREE years ago a French warship steamed into the Indo-Chinese port of Haiphong and fired shells which are still exploding in France.

The undeclared "police action" climaxed a series of French violations—which began before the ink was even dry—of the agreement of March 6, 1946, under which France recognized Viet-Nam (comprising the Indo-Chinese states Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina) as a free state within the French Union. The government of Viet-Namese leader Ho Chi Minh, which signed the agreement with France, accepted the principles of the French Union—but French army generals' reports disclosed later showed there never was any intention of keeping the agreement on France's side.

DIRT IS COSTLY: Today's intensive Franco-British-U. S. effort to smash Ho Chi Minh with arms and foist on the Viet-Namese the government of "playboy emperor" Bao Dai, which admittedly not 1% of the people accept, is by all odds the most cynical example of the drive—disguised under the "anti-communist" slogan—against colonial liberation movements.

The Viet-Nam "dirty war" has cost France not only tens of thousands of casualties and billions of francs, but the unity of her own people. The country has not been split so widely and deeply since Frenchmen had to choose between following Petain or the Resistance in 1940. Indo-China has become a symbol transcending the colonial struggle itself, around which France's most vital questions are clustered. Documented accusations of French atrocities in Viet-Nam are buried in a cloud of Napoleonic-era slogans about "the honor and glory of France," emitted by imperial diehards.

UN-FRENCH FRENCHMEN: In voting to recognize the ex-Japanese-collaborationist Bao Dai last month, the legislature plainly did not reflect French public opinion. The opposition, voiced and voted in the Chamber only by Communists, found strong support among non-Communists. The "Titoist" Claude Bourdet of **Combat** asked if U. S. aid would make another Greece out of Viet-Nam. "The consequences," he said, "will be favorable neither to our country nor to the peace of the world."



HO CHI MINH
Looking eastward

Another Frenchman, calling himself "normally patriotic," said: "On this business I'll have to say I'm anti-French. If those people want their independence, let's give it to them. We won't be losing anything."

WORKERS ACT: Actions to fit these sentiments were coming mainly from the French working-class. At Marseille, St. Nazaire and other ports, longshoremen refused to load war material on ships bound for the Far East.

At Dunkirk, British freighters sailed for Indo-China leaving locomotives, armored cars, army trucks and cases—camouflaged with "Destination: Djibouti (Africa)"—sitting on the wharves. At La Rochelle, government troops loaded French ships while police stood by to prevent the striking workers from interfering.

With Truman's military aid program getting under way, trade union leaders promised that similar efforts would be made to prevent unloading American war material in France. Although U. S.-made weapons are technically destined for "Atlantic defense," authoritative French sources indicate that loopholes are ready through which arms can be passed on to Indo-China.

EXTRA STINK: The government plans to meet working-class opposition head-on. Bills now before the National Assembly propose outlawing of "political strikes," while workers voicing any opposition are threatened with immediate discharge.

Tragic violence is in the making. And as French politicians begin asking themselves if imperial prestige is worth it, the "dirty war" has been made shades dirtier by a scandal disclosed last month. A report made by former French Chief of Staff Gen Revers, being carried by an Indo-Chinese envoy of Bao Dai, was found to be a recommendation that Indo-China be turned over from civilian to army hands; and that it be administered by Gen. Charles Mast, former resident general of Tunisia and wartime agent of the U. S.' Robert Murphy. With the report were checks and other papers containing prominent French names. The investigation led to one Roger Peyre, wartime Nazi collaborationist who had got $8,000 "expense money" from Revers to do a press-agent job for Mast.

At that point the investigation was abruptly called off. But French public opinion, already heated over the Viet-Nam mess, was not calmed.

THE WORLD

BRITISH ELECTIONS

Plenty of water

ON Feb. 3, King George dissolved the British Parliament in which the Labor Party held a majority. The stage was officially set for a general election on Feb. 23. Parties, candidates and backers were ready at the gate.

For its ten-page printed platform Labor found the title: **Let Us Win Through Together.** Half a page of it was devoted to foreign policy. It promised to "work realistically for peace." The Conservatives were in complete agreement with Labor on cold-war policy but argued that the Atlantic Pact, Marshall Plan and European "integration" were originally Tory ideas stemming from Winston Churchill's "iron curtain" speech at Fulton, Mo. Their platform was entitled **This Is The Road.**

WATERED WINSTON: Communist and "left independent" candidates—Laborites kicked out of their party for opposing Foreign Secretary Bevin—were rubbing Labor's nose in the foreign policy mess in more than 100 constituencies. In Gateshead GUARDIAN correspondent Konni Zilliacus, who as a Labor MP charged Bevin with following a "crypto-Fulton-Winston-and-water" policy, was embarrassing his Labor machine adversary with his arsenal of facts proving the betrayal of the party's 1945 promises. To win re-election in Walthamstow, London, Premier Clem Attlee himself was faced with the necessity to talk about something else than vague generalities about "winning through." Attlee is opposed by left-independent MP Lester Hutchinson, whose expulsion from the Labor Party followed his U.S. peace tour with Henry Wallace last year.

WINSTON CHURCHILL
Bigger and better cigars

Domestically, Labor was trying to assuage middle-class fears about socialism. Called "lower than vermin" by Labor Minister Aneurin Bevan, the class was now being referred to as "the useful people" by Labor Minister Herbert Morrison. Further nationalization was to be kept at a minimum and former property-owners amply reimbursed. For the workers, Labor promised more of the same—wage freeze, "sacrifices for the common good," and nationalization of steel. It had all been promised before.

WATERED CLEM: The Conservatives promised to keep the wide program of social improvements started under Labor, but at the same time to reduce spending and taxes. They promised to "bring nationalization to a full stop here and now," including steel, and to consider selling "back to free enterprise" some already nationalized industries. For trade unionists, Conservatives promised release from the labor-imposed wage freeze and return to what they called free, collective bargaining.

An Un-American stand

Conservative and Labor leaders had cooperated to keep U. S. domination of Britain's economy under the Marshall Plan from becoming an issue in the campaign.

Last week the pro-Labor London **Daily Mirror** (circulation: 4,500.000) blasted the issue into the open. Marshall Plan administrators had protested the Labor government's move to conserve scarce dollars by putting an embargo on imports of U. S. oil. The **Mirror** headlined the story: "Big Business in U. S. is Trying to Smash British Trade Drive." It blamed "oil lobbyists" backed by Standard Oil and Rockefeller "millions" for the struggle "between American profits and British recovery."

OUCH! MIND MY SORE POINT! Britain can buy plenty of oil in pound sterling from its oil properties overseas. But the Labor government rations oil products at home, preferring to spend oil to get dollars. U. S. oil interests insist it spend dollars to get oil.

The **Mirror** story touched a tender

(Continued on following page)

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point in Labor Party ranks. Many Laborites have opposed U. S. "aid" for tying Britain's economy to an uncontrolled and fluctuating U. S. economy; have resented U. S. lectures on saving dollars while U. S. movie makers and tobacco manufacturers have plugged for increased British purchases.

The pro-Labor **New Statesman and Nation**, viewing the election, wrote: "Labor has three main opponents, and the Conservative Party is not among them. The first is complacency; the second, weather. The third is the chance—only to be averted by hard and convincing canvassing—of abstentions by Labor supporters who feel that the hopes of 1945 are withering and that Socialism lives in the back streets, but not in Whitehall [seat of the government]."

VIET-NAM

Eastward Ho

LAST week France's parliament recognized limited independence for Viet-Nam under the government of the wartime Japanese puppet, Bao Dai. Bao had failed to draw support from Ho Chi Minh, wartime guerrilla leader, who now controls 80% of Viet-Nam; but France's action, it was hoped, would lead to U. S. recognition and military aid.

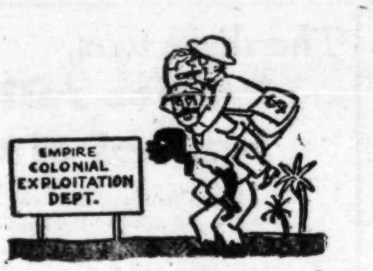
In Washington, Secretary of State Dean Acheson spoke kindly of Bao and called Ho a "mortal enemy of native independence." (For reactions in France, see Karnow, p. 9).

BAO NO MAO: While France's parliament debated whether to recognize Bao, Ho's government and the Chinese People's Republic of Mao Tse-tung recognized each other. Ten days later the Soviet Union also recognized Ho.

In Paris, the Foreign Office was beside itself. It summoned Soviet Ambassador Alexander Bogomolov to appear immediately. Bogomolov offered to come next day. A French protest was then delivered to the Embassy by messenger, instead of by the usual diplomatic courier. Bogomolov returned the note by messenger, simply wrote on the envelope that "the government of the U. S. S. R. does not consider it possible to receive such a note."

Britain, which has recognized the Chinese People's Republic, was on the spot. By recognizing Mao, it had hoped to safeguard its interests in China. By recognizing Bao, it might undo the groundwork which had been laid. Commonwealth member India found the choice easier. It dismissed Bao as a French puppet. It had already recognized Mao's China.

On the world's rubber markets there seemed little doubt as to the eventual outcome of the struggle in Viet-Nam. Prices of raw rubber soared as Viet-Nam's annual production of 40,000 to 50,000 tons was written off as lost to the west.



Daily Worker, London

"I'm sure the natives must be glad now that we are helping them, Senator."

GERMANY

'Better under Adolf'

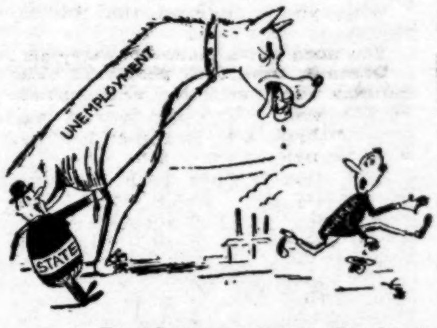
THREE years ago Dean Acheson, then Under-Secretary of State, insisted that Western Germany be rebuilt as "the workshop of Europe." Germany has been the favored child of the Marshall Plan. Last week it was choking on its own production. Unemployment had jumped 183% since 1947 and was reaching the 2,000,000 mark. By percentage, unemployment was almost as great as when Hitler seized power.

German production was headed downward, with iron, steel, cement machinery leading the decline. The reason: goods couldn't find an export market. In the west its products are competitive. The U. S, won't let it sell to the east. Recently the Bonn government tried to make a deal to sell Communist China a substantial quantity of steel rails. The U. S. intervened, the deal was canceled, Britain got the contract.

BUYING UP, SELLING DOWN: In 1949, considered a good year, West German exports were only 40% of pre-war, while production was almost 100%. Imports were $1,200,000 more than exports. Recent trade agreements with Belgium and Holland resulted in increased German imports of food and clothing. This was one reason for a drop in retail prices throughout Western Germany last week. Annual winter clothing sales quickly snowballed into a real price decline. In Hamburg and Munich police were called out to handle the crowds.

Newspapers reported that the economy was being "readjusted." For the unemployed the outlook was bleak. Germany lacks capital for big building programs. It is confidently predicted that U. S. Commissioner John J. McCloy's plan for U. S. investment in the Ruhr will soon be implemented. But even this is only a short-term solution. Unless West Germany can trade with East Germany and East Europe, it cannot approach a solution.

HITLER HAD AN IDEA: But some Germans had other ideas. The Munich **Merkur**, in an editorial headed **The Example of 1933**, advised that something could be learned from measures taken by the Nazis in 1933 to handle unemployment. Hitler's regime ended unemployment by embarking on a huge rearmament and militarization program. U. S. officials were worried not by the threat of a rearming Germany but by a fear that sentiment for a united Germany (demanded by East Germany and Russia) will grow in the West.



Frankfurter Rundschau, Frankfurt

"For God's sake, hold on to him before he eats me up!"

GREECE

Strikes tell a story

HENRY F. GRADY, U. S. Ambassador to the Greek royalist regime, returned to Washington last week full of good cheer. "New records" in Greek production would be set in 1950, he predicted, and the coming elections would be held in a "wholly democratic manner." On the island concentration camp of Makronisos between 12,000 and 15,000 political prisoners knew all about Greek democracy. Among them were 118 leaders who faced execution.

Despite the terror, Greek workers were fighting back. Between Nov. 18 and Dec. 9, high school teachers walked out, closing all schools. Between Dec. 3 and 9, public service employes struck, shut Radio Athens until their demands were met. On Dec. 9 and 13 there were 24-hour general strikes. On Dec. 20 all Greek railroad workers went out.

The pro-government newspaper **Vima** admitted growing "agitation" among workers. Greeks remembered the New Year slogan of Kostas Theos, secretary of the General Confederation of Labor: the triumph of the Greek working class in 1950.

Put this week's GUARDIAN to double-duty. Mail it to a friend in a simple, open-end wrapper with a 1c stamp, and recruit another subscriber.

The Norval Harris Case

An Indiana judge refuses to bow to witch-hunters

"YOU are not to be permitted to argue against the opinion of this court." That was the verdict of Chief Justice Delancey of His Majesty's Colonial Court in 1733 disbarring the defense attorneys of John Peter Zenger, an American colonial charged with criticizing the King in his newspaper.

The colonial courts, having become sovereign, now hand down similar rulings. The lawyers who defended the leaders of the Communist Party are appealing a conviction for contempt of court. The defenders of longshore leader Harry Bridges have already been cited for contempt. Three lawyers, engaged by some of the Trenton Six, were disbarred. In New Haven, Conn., two more lawyers were barred from the court; their clients were guilty of allowing a Negro guest to sleep overnight.

Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann and a dozen others last week signed a statement denouncing the state of U. S. courts, declaring that it followed a "pattern of political repression already clearly defined in the case of the teacher, the government employe, the writer, the scientist, the trade unionist, the Negro. . . ."

THE PRICE: In Indiana, a judge who refused to knuckle under to this "pattern of political repression" was the latest under attack. Judge Norval K. Harris of the Sullivan, Ind., Circuit Court had consistently observed his oath to uphold civil rights. Defying the witch-hunt, he joined Paul Robeson as co-chairman of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the 12 Communist Leaders.

The grand jury of Sullivan Co returned three indictments against the judge himself. The indictments charged he had forged a signature on a birth certificate issued to a brother of a Sullivan resident; two other counts of embezzlement and issuance of a bad check grew out of a divorce case in which he briefly delayed in transmitting his client's alimony to the divorced wife. There was no hint of any personal profit the judge might have derived from his alleged crimes.

OVER-HEATED IN HELL: Promptly disqualifying himself from considering the indictments, Judge Harris in a prepared statement read in open court pointedly asked why charges in these year-old matters had been made just now in so strange a manner. He said he had grounds for making contempt charges against the prosecutor. He added:

NORVAL HARRIS

No phony patriots wanted

"Everybody knows that the Judge of this Court is no hymn-singer, no psalm-reciter, no prayer-shouter. He believes in and tries to practice the Golden Rule and if that is not sufficient to get him into Heaven, he is confident he will meet many disappointed and over-heated church-goers when he arrives in Hell.

"My political views stem from Tom Paine, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose birthday should be a national holiday. But I have not permitted politics to influence any decision of mine in this Court. Being a Jeffersonian Democrat, I am unalterably opposed to sending billions of dollars and guns, planes, tanks, shells and bombs and millions of our brave boys overseas to help tyrants like Chiang Kai-shek, Franco and the Greek-German king keep their people in subjection and slavery."

STRAIGHT TALK: "Having fought for my country, I need no instruction in patriotism from phony patriots or political parasites, or from half-baked editors, whether small-town amateurs or big city professionals.

"I oppose, with Jefferson and Lincoln, the prosecution of Americans for their honest political beliefs. I oppose, with Woodrow Wilson, the dollar diplomacy of our State Department. With Franklin Roosevelt, I oppose fascism.

"When the present war hysteria whipped up by those damnable radio maniacs Winchell, Pearson and Kaltenborn; by the despicable Hearst who was a pal of Mussolini and Hitler; and by our present State Department which has turned its back on and betrayed the humanitarian principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt—when this war hysteria has died down, it will then be determined by the people of the U. S. who were patriots now and who were against the best interests of the land we love."

AN UPRIGHT JUDGE: In conclusion the Judge issued 13 new rules for the court requiring more decorum, better attendance by court functionaries, and that he be respected "as an innocent and upright Judge." An editorial in the Sullivan **Daily Times** declared: "The owners of this paper have known Judge Harris since boyhood. . . . Not during that long and varied experience was he ever found to be untrustworthy as to his financial responsibilities. . . . We have known him, at great personal sacrifice, to pay out hundreds of dollars to help others and keep them out of trouble—to 'lend a helping hand.'"

Last week the Indiana Supreme Court appointed Circuit Judge Ralph A. Seal from another Indiana county to try the Harris case. No date was set.

The readers, YES!

7,500 new subs—and how to get more

THE magnificent groundswell of support to maintain NATIONAL GUARDIAN in publication has come from every corner of the country. Circulation has jumped 7,500 in two weeks. The letters of the people have contained dozens of good, workable ideas for carrying on the job, and hundreds of variations of them.

The letters reprinted here are a mere skimming of the many thousands we have received, but they sum up ideas recurring in hundreds of other letters which indicate the ingenuity and extent of the effort being put forth by individuals and organizations everywhere to insure the GUARDIAN's future.

Somewhere on this page you will find an idea that strikes your fancy or fits your neighborhood. We will cooperate in every way with whatever you can undertake in this campaign. Read on, and join the GUARDIAN parade as it passes your corner.

The people, yes!

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The 10 names enclosed are people whom I asked if it would be all right for you to bill them later for the subscription they will receive in the mail. They all agreed that that would be fine, and that the GUARDIAN must go on at all costs.

Charlotte Harzoff

SEATTLE, WASH.

Other progressive papers ("American Guardian," "Washington New Dealer") have sold to interested boosters six $1 paid-up subscription cards for $5. When the booster sold a sub, he simply pocketed the dollar, filled out the card and dropped it in the mail. Have you considered this?

William J. Corr

Instead of 6 for $5, our paid-up cards cost 75c straight, are good for $1 sub each. Ed.

BAY CITY, MICH.

There are 200,000 people in the U.S.A. who would pay $100 a year if necessary to keep the GUARDIAN going. Talk about the salt of the earth: the GUARDIAN & staff are it! The world will some day remember you, no doubt when you are all dead. Enclosed $2.

Barney O'Neil

WORCESTER, MASS.

The enclosed $100 is a large portion of an old man's life savings.... **Name withheld**

ELKHART, IND.

I suggest that pledges be printed in the GUARDIAN, thus:

"I pledge $5, $10, ... more each month if enough others will do likewise to guarantee that the GUARDIAN will continue as a live, aggressive, progressive paper."

Here's my $5. **Chas. C. Rohrer**

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Why not ask your readers to become sustainers by sending a certain amount every month? Here's $5. I'll send that sum each month as long as you need it.

Frederick A. Blossom

On with the dance

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

If the American Labor Party and the Progressive clubs all over were to give parties and /or dances and let the cost of admission be a subscription to the GUARDIAN, the actual admission would be free! The GUARDIAN provides a simple, inexpensive and effective way to support militant progressivism.

Jimmie Epstein

VENICE, CALIF.

Why couldn't readers sponsor "Subscription Parties," with a singer, a dancer, a speaker or just a plain social gathering. Those who are already subscribers could be admitted by signing up a friend.

Mrs. Roy Miller

And so to breakfast

QUEENS, L. I.

The newly formed Young Progressives Club of Kew Gardens Hills has agreed to sell 200 GUARDIAN subs as our quota.

Frederick A. Wolfe, secretary-treasurer

CLEVELAND, O.

At our State Progressive Party convention, by specific motion unanimously carried, our officers were directed to explore with you the possibility of a combination offer of a year's membership and a year's subscription to the GUARDIAN.

We would like to hear from you soon.

Hugh De Lacy

Can do. Ed.

BRONX, N. Y.

Enclosed find $25 to cover 25 subs gotten at the last meeting of the Women's Forum. I shall continue to get more of them at every meeting. **(Mrs.) Eve Pantell**

Sorry, wrong ditch

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The first thing to hit me in the eye in your Jan. 23 issue was the headline: "A last ditch appeal to reason."

Hell's fire! You've been publishing the paper one year with a steadily increasing readership and you're in the last ditch already?!

Why, you're only in the FIRST ditch!

You need extra money to carry on.

Dammit, man, the people of this country along with the great masses of the world are going to rise out of this abyss and are going to make a whole new world.

And they're going to do it with leaders like yourselves and those like you. And they're going to do it quicker and better by being imbued with the idea that they can and will!

The paper is in a hole? So tell the readers they have to make an extra effort to help it out and to push it to even greater heights.

Tell them in such a way as to convince them that you KNOW they can and will.

Instead of using the power of suggestion to reconcile your readers to having NO GUARDIAN, use your power to inspire them to dig the GUARDIAN out of this ditch and the next ditch and to keep on building it bigger and stronger, so that it will eventually eliminate all the ditches or at least have a crop of bridge-builders to span the ditches before you get to them.

Instead of burying the GUARDIAN under a tombstone inscribed "Noble Experiment," let's bury the word "if" along with the capitalists who will spend eternity in Hades moaning to one another "if . . . we hadn't been quite so greedy". . ."if we hadn't so underestimated the intelligence and courage of the people". . ."if only it weren't so HOT down here!"

Theodore Stuver

Wanted

500 pledges to match the following

●

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

I wish to pledge $100 conditional upon sufficient similar pledges being made to guarantee the existence of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the coming year. **Howard Koch**

●

I pledge $10 a month for ten months to guarantee publication of NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the coming year.

Name..............................

Address..............................

$........ herewith.

PASADENA, CALIF.

As publicity chairman of the Pasadena Area Club of the Independent Progressive Party, I should like to receive a list of potential subscribers in this area, which includes Altadena, Sierra Madre and part of La Crescenta. I should like to suggest similar activity to Progressive Party Clubs everywhere. Our telephoning committee can then make a concerted push for subs. **Nancy Ehrhardt**

Even AVC!

CHICAGO, ILL.

After reading your last ditch appeal to reason, I took your plea to today's meeting of my AVC chapter and I am happy to pass along to the GUARDIAN our modest but enthusiastic contribution to the tune of $16.

The GUARDIAN is, in the opinion of most of our members, the finest progressive journalistic effort to hit the American scene in as long as most of us can remember. If good journalism and good conscience were the yardstick of a paper's circulation in America, I would not be writing this today.

Alexander F. Sunshine, chmn.,
John Peter Altgeld Chapt. AVC

PORTLAND, ME.

The Progressive Party voted a $75 advance to you. Against this amount we hope to obtain 75 subscriptions at $1 each.

Israel Albert, treasurer

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Last night at our Scott Nearing Lecture Michael Weber brought up the plight of the GUARDIAN. The enclosed [$35 subs and contribution] is the result!

Edith L. B. Kline

have you got 4 friends?

PRINT NAMES **street** **city & zone** **state**

ME ....

1 ....

2 ....

3 ....

4 ....

☐ **$5 enclosed.**
☐ **Bill me for $5.**
☐ **My $1 enclosed to extend my sub . . .; pay my bill . . .***
The others say it's O.K. to bill them for $1 each.

EVERYONE has 4 friends

NATIONAL GUARDIAN the progressive newsweekly **needs their help**

THE cause of an independent publication is yours as well as ours. That is why we are asking you to double and redouble your efforts on behalf of the GUARDIAN.

Write in (at left) the names and addresses of four friends. Put $5 in an envelope addressed to us, to cover five one-year subs—including your own sub, renewal or bill payment.

If the money isn't handy, check the proper box at the bottom of this page and we'll bill you —or each of your friends if they say O. K.

THE EDITORS

National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

* Readers owe us $6,500 in unpaid bills. Pay up now; don't make us bill you again.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Facts about dandruff "cures"

BALD and balding Americans spend millions annually for futile hair-saving and "dandruff-curing" treatments, the American Medical Association said in a recent study.

The facts are that none of the many vaunted treatments will restore hair lost in ordinary or premature baldness. Such useless treatments and preparations include massage, vitamins and others. In rare instances, AMA experts found, continued massage may produce a fine, colorless, fuzzy down which cannot be considered a real growth of hair and often drops off anyhow.

The old-age baldness of some people is generally impossible to treat. However, an early or localized bald spot sometimes may be inhibited or slowed down by medical diagnosis and treatment. It's important to treat dandruff to combat early baldness, but the lotions on the market are useless for that. Their alcoholic content dissolves surface dandruff, but it soon reappears.

THE CLEAN SCALP HELPS:. .What is important is to keep the scalp clean and yourself in good condition. Fatigue, inadequate diet, generally poor physical tone all show up in the condition and health of the hair.

Like so-called hair tonics, hair dressings have no effect on the condition of the hair; in fact, they may harm it. Many of the brilliantines on the market are basically mineral oil with a little perfume. You can buy ordinary light mineral oil and add a drop of perfume. But avoid excessive use of mineral oil dressings because they'll tend to dry up. Preferable are the newer cream-type preparations containing lanolin. But don't expect any help even from these in curing dandruff. They will remove it all right, as the Wildroot radio announcer says, but it will soon be back unless other steps are taken, which he neglects to say.

Waterproofing shoes

FOR snowy weather you can waterproof shoes with a preparation containing neatsfoot oil, available at leather goods stores. In the army, they call this compound "dubbin." Be sure to rub the oil thoroughly into the space between the sole and the upper. But don't do it with dress-up shoes because they won't take a high shine later.

Value in linoleum

WHAT gives you the most wear for your money in hard-surface floor coverings: inlaid linoleum, ordinary linoleum or the printed felt-base? The National Bureau of Standards found that the medium-priced product of these three grades—the ordinary linoleum—gave the most utility for its price. The felt-base is cheapest, but its comparatively short life makes it worthwhile only for temporary use. The inlaid linoleum wears longest, but not enough longer than ordinary linoleum to justify its higher cost for home use. The bureau also found that all grades give better service when applied over a layer of felted paper.

Faith in the united front

Alvarez del Vayo—optimist to the last

By Cedric Belfrage

RESPECTABLE reviewers of his just-published autobiography agree that the case of Julio Alvarez del Vayo is very sad.

Here is an army general's son, educated in select Catholic academies; a brilliantly successful journalist chosen by his government (the Spanish Republic) to be its ambassador to Mexico, its Foreign Minister, its war commissar; a man who even after he saw his cause betrayed and defeated in Spain in 1939, had every inducement and qualification to sit down in the camp of liberal intellectuals, talk socialism and do nothing about it.

Yet del Vayo wants freedom and abundance for his beloved Spain so badly that he insists on associating with Communists in order to get it, even though his socialism differs in method and interpretation from theirs. And while he is an intellectual of no small distinction, he remains first and foremost a man of action, with an absolute conviction that his cause will triumph in his lifetime.

If a man who has seen so many mistakes made in the practice of progressive unity still has faith in the united front policy; if one who has shared in such appalling setbacks and had so much reason for heartbreak remains untouched by cynicism and defeatism; then it is hard to see how, confronted with his story, immobilized progressives in the U.S. can fail to be ashamed and reborn.

FRANCO'S DOPEY COPS: Del Vayo's wise and witty testament contains little theorizing; his active life speaks for itself. His contempt for Franco, for example, is expressed in a calm, unheroic final chapter describing the reconnaissance trip that he—a man Franco has sentenced to death—made into Spain last year.

While not underestimating Franco's police (he points out that $4,000,000 more is spent annually in Spain on agencies of repression and terror than on all branches of education and culture put together), del Vayo can measure the average Spanish cop's efficiency by the fact that they actually caught him in 1949—and let him go, not knowing who he was although his picture had been published hundreds of times.

ALVAREZ DEL VAYO
For freedom—unite!

Here are some examples of del Vayo's political good sense and optimism about the future:

THE VATICAN: "The alliance of Vatican reaction and American capitalism stands out as the most significant political development of the postwar period. [This helps explain] the retrogression of the Left forces of the new Europe, and those left-wing revolts which may take place in 1950 or in 1955 or at some other date, but which will take place with mathematical certainty."

RUSSIA: "Those who like to complicate the Russian issue and delight businessmen's clubs by lecturing on the enigma of the East should learn one simple fact: Russia wants peace."

ROOSEVELT: "Had he lived, American-Soviet relations, in the opinion of most informed Russians, would have followed a different course. . . . The most striking thing about Roosevelt's handling of the Russian issue was his capacity to relegate to second place aspects of Soviet policy with which he disagreed and to gear all his efforts to Russia's desire to continue the coalition."

U.S.A.: "The danger of a new war lay in two factors: the armaments race initiated and financed by the United States, and the capitalist world's fear of being beaten in economic competition by the new socialist world. . . . The first factor, I am sure, will be taken care of by the American people who are passionately devoted to peace."

SPAIN: "Difficult is the task of helping in the liberation of one's country, and difficult the maintenance of a firm position as a Left Socialist, but I am more determined than ever to continue the struggle on both fronts. I see this book only as a record of past activities, compiled on the eve of undertaking new ones."

THE LAST OPTIMIST, by Julio Alvarez del Vayo. Viking, New York. 395 pp. $4.

CALENDAR

New York City

GUARDIAN PARTY, sponsored by Ideas for Action, Fri. Feb. 10, 8:30 p.m., ALP club, 3410 B'way at 138 St. Entertainment by Bob de Cormier of Unity Chorus, refreshment, dancing. GUARDIAN editors and staff members will be present. Admission: $1 sub to GUARDIAN for self or friend.

GEORGE MURPHY, assistant executive director of the Progressive Party, speaks on "Second Annual Convention of the Progressive Party" at the monthly membership meeting of ALP 1st A. D. North Club, 350 Fourth Av., Thurs., Feb. 9. Delegates to convention will be chosen from club members.

WELCOME HOME RALLY for Mrs. Ada B. Jackson, sponsored by Kings County Committee ALP, Fri., Feb. 10, 8 p.m., Brooklyn Academy of Music. Mrs. Jackson attended the All-Asian Conference of Women for Peace, and was the first American woman to visit China since the creation of the new People's Republic. Admission: 50c and $1. Contact: ALP, 129 Montague St., and all Kings County clubs.

INTERNATIONAL CHESS MATCH by radio: U.S. vs. Yugoslavia, Chanin Building, 122 E. 42 St., N.Y.C., Feb. 11-14. U.S. masters Resnevsky, Fine, Horowitz, Denker, vs. Gligorich, Pirc, Trifunovich, Rabar et al. Admission 60c. Telephone Chess Review, CIrcle 6-8258, for hours of play.

RALLY TO DISCUSS THE H-BOMB: Carnegie Hall, Mon., Feb. 13, 8:15 p.m.; principal speaker, Dr. Linus Pauling, California Institute of Technology; chairman Dr. Colston Warne, Amherst College; auspices. National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. Tickets 75c, $1, $1.50, available at Carnegie Hall or at Suite 71, 49 W. 44th St., or Bookfair, 133 W. 44th St., N. Y. C.

Syracuse, N. Y.

FILM FORUM on "The Struggle for Civil Rights," sponsored by Syracuse ALP club, Sun., Feb. 12, 3:30 p.m., 514 Harrison St. Admission free.

Newark, N. J.

REV. CLAUDE WILLIAMS speaks on "Behind the Cotton Curtain," Sun., Feb. 12, 3 p.m., Oriental Masonic Temple, 509 High St., Newark.

Chicago

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS lectures on "The American Negro, 1850 to 1950," auspices of University of Chicago chapters NAACP and YPA, Thurs., Feb. 9, 3:30 p.m., Mandel Hall, U. of Chicago.

HOUSE PARTY, sponsored by 35th Ward PP, at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Welchers, 3816 Wrightwood, Sat., Feb. 11, 8:30 p.m. Hal Klapman of Hollywood Actors Lab will read "Home of the Brave." Games, cards, refreshments. Donations: $1.

PSYCHOLOGICAL MOVIES, sponsored by PP, will be shown Sat., Feb. 11, 8:15 p.m., 170 W. Washington St. Dr. Aaron Hilkevitch, psychoanalyst, will lead discussion. Films will also be shown on Sun., Feb. 12, 8 p.m., 3236 Balmoral (near Sawyer), sponsored by 40th Ward PP. Dr. Hilkevitch will speak.

FOLK DANCING CLASS, European folk and American square, auspices of PP, starting Wed., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. (for 10 weeks) conducted by Mr. Beliajus, 170 W. Washington St. Course: $7.50.

California

LEO KRZYCKI, president of the American Slav Congress, will discuss the fight for peace and specific tasks before Slavic Americans in Los Angeles, Sun., Feb. 12, 2 p.m., Park View Manor, 2200 W. 7th St., in San Pedro, Mon., Feb. 13, 8 p.m., Yugoslav American Hall.

Will we yield to fear?

(Continued from page 1)

a "chosen" nation, holding the bomb as a "sacred trust." (Hitler explained in Mein Kampf how to give people a sense of their own importance so they will swallow any suggestion, however mad.)

FASHIONABLE ENDORSEMENTS: U. S. psychological warfare, like the Nazi variety, is a weapon in the hands of big business and its military and political allies to harness the people to its program for profits, conquest, and war. The Germans came to accept as natural—and participate in—the mass slaughter of millions.

Many Americans have now been conditioned to it. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt endorses development of the H-bomb. Harold Urey, scientist and spokesman for world government, advocates it to preserve "independence and liberty." A CIO official urges unity with the mass murderers of World War II in a new war against humanity. Bernard Baruch demands speed on the H-bomb, warning of the danger of early attack.

The bomb, they claim, is to be developed "for peace," as a means of solving international problems. But, as Max Werner has pointed out, it offers neither a military nor a political solution. The atom did not halt social revolution, nor coerce Russia to surrender. The full bankruptcy of U. S. policy was revealed when, faced with the collapse of its atomic policy, the U. S. could offer only another bomb—which everyone knows Russia can produce too.

WILL THE MILLIONS SPEAK? Yet Americans have still to be conditioned for war; millions have never forgotten FDR's words: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

In a call to these commonsense Americans last week, Progressive Party chairman Elmer A. Benson said: "There is no qualified observer of foreign policy who is not convinced today that a drastic change in this foreign policy is long overdue. These include Walter Lippmann, David Lawrence and a host of other seasoned observers including, as is perfectly well-known in Washington, members of the President's own cabinet."

In the Senate next day Sen. Brien McMahon, in a major speech, called for a "global Marshall Plan," including Russia, to replace the U. S.'s huge arms program. His price for economic aid to Russia was still Russian capitulation to the U. S. atomic program. But his speech, in Benson's words; "revealed the growing core of American opinion that this new terror weapon is no answer to America's need for security." Benson said:

"Sen. McMahon has eloquently painted a future of abundance which peace and freedom from fear of the hell of hydrogen war can bring. We cannot afford to miss this second chance for peace by persisting in blind adherence to the policy of the cold war whose death-rattles echo in the McMahon proposal."

•

IF YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS IS PRINTED IN RED ON THE MAILING TAG BELOW, YOU OWE US $1 FOR YOUR SUBSCRIPTION. PROMPT PAYMENT WILL HELP US AVOID A SECOND COSTLY BILLING.

RAY C THOMAS 1—50
1758 S 13TH
SALEM ORE